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Author(s): Peter William Richards

Title: Swettenham: A rural township in East Cheshire, 1660-1770

Date: October 2005

Originally published as: University of Liverpool MA dissertation

Example citation: Richards, P. W. (2005). *Swettenham: A rural township in East Cheshire, 1660-1770*. (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Liverpool, United Kingdom.

Version of item: Submitted version

Available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/10034/123298>

SWETTENHAM
A RURAL TOWNSHIP
IN EAST CHESHIRE

1660 – 1770

Peter William Richards

Dissertation submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts in the University of Liverpool
in part fulfilment of the modular programme in Landscape, Heritage and Society
October, 2005.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Michael Baker, Swettenham churchwarden, for allowing me access to the church and the parish chest.

Tony Bonson, author of *Driven by the Dane: Nine Centuries of Waterpower in South Cheshire and North Staffordshire* for explaining the contents of the inventory relating to Swettenham Mill and interpreting these to describe the layout of the mill.

Rob Edwards, Cheshire Historic Environment Records Officer, for his help with the County Historic Environment Records for the area.

Rachel McGuickan, University College of Chester, dissertation tutor, for her encouragement and guidance.

Jonathan Pepler, Cheshire County Archivist for information about Thomas Hale and help in interpreting Thomas Hale's map.

The staff at the County Records Office for their help in copying Thomas Hale's map and the wills and inventories used in this dissertation and for their patience in dealing with my requests for many dozens of documents.

CONTENTS

Abstract

Chapter One	Introduction and Notes on Sources	Page 1
Chapter Two	The Landscape	Page 10
Chapter Three	The Population	Page 18
Chapter Four	Agriculture	Page 28
Chapter Five	Everyday Life	Page 37
Chapter Six	Conclusions	Page 66

Appendix A	Early History	Page 68
Appendix B	Map of Tenements	Inside back cover
Appendix C	Map of Field Names	Inside back cover
Appendix D	Wills and Inventories consulted	Page 71
Appendix E	Continuity of Family Names	Page 72
Appendix F	Illegitimacy	Page 73
Appendix G	Evidence of Birth Control	Page 74
Appendix H	Cheese Producers	Page 75
Appendix I	Cereal Crops Grown	Page 76
Appendix J	Buildings in the Township	Page 77
Appendix K	Descriptions and Numbers of Rooms in houses	Page 82
Bibliography		Page 84

SWETTENHAM

A RURAL PARISH IN EAST CHESHIRE

1660 – 1770

Abstract

The purpose of this dissertation is to describe the landscape, buildings, population and economy of the township of Swettenham between the years 1660 and 1770 using mainly the primary sources available. Firstly there is a description of the landscape and the population in general terms - the landscape's appearance, land use, pattern of settlement, overall population trends and patterns. This includes consideration of how old the landscape described might be. Moving from the general to the particular, consideration is then given to the standards of living and way of life of the individuals, the type of agriculture they practised and the buildings in which they lived. Where possible, reference is made to evidence from the lives of individuals to support and illustrate these themes. The results show that Swettenham was a relatively self-contained community in terms of its agricultural economy and contact beyond the parish boundary. The population was fluid, with movement into and out of the parish throughout the period, but social habits were slow to change.

SWETTENHAM

A RURAL TOWNSHIP IN EAST CHESHIRE

1660 – 1770

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION & NOTES ON SOURCES

INTRODUCTION

1. Swettenham is a small parish lying towards the eastern end of the Cheshire Plain. It sits on the north bank of the river Dane between Holmes Chapel and Congleton and comprises the townships of Swettenham and Kermincham.

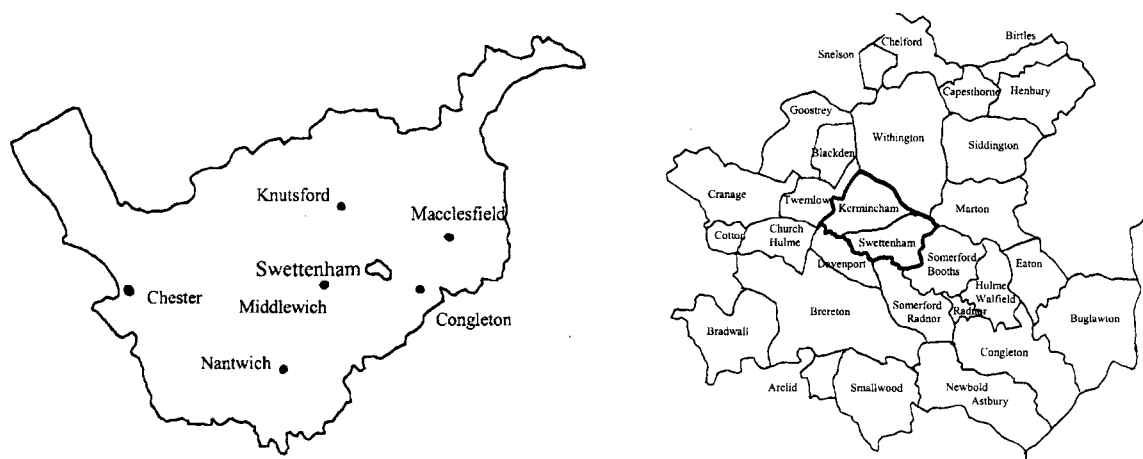


Figure 1. Swettenham's location in Cheshire, and its relationship to surrounding parishes.¹

2. The choice of the township of Swettenham as the subject for this dissertation is somewhat arbitrary, in that it was chosen because of the author's personal interest in, and connections with the area. It is not part of a great estate for which extensive and detailed records exist but its ordinariness means it merits study as being typical of dozens of other similar townships which otherwise would remain unknown.

3. The period selected – 1660 to 1770 forms a natural one of sorts in terms of research materials. The parish records,² which form one principal primary source, start in 1570 but are in Latin up to 1658. The date of the one of the other main primary sources – Thomas Hale's

map of 1762³ – represents a point shortly before the agricultural changes of the second half of the eighteenth century began to take effect, and therefore is a natural break in the landscape history of the area. Within this period there are wills and probate inventories available for over sixty individuals in the parish.

4. East Cheshire is a part of the county which has not been studied in particular depth. Lying in the Hundred of Northwich, it is outside the area covered by Earwaker.⁴ There have been studies of the area of north east Cheshire,⁵ and a study of mortality in the parishes of Wymbunbury and Nantwich.⁶ There have been local histories of the east Cheshire towns of Congleton and Macclesfield, and studies of the mills along the River Dane. M.J. Lovell produced a short history of the village in 1952,⁷ and an archaeological survey of part of the parish was carried out in 1992.⁸ None of these publications have done what this study aims to do, which is produce a picture of the whole township over a period of around one hundred years. The parish's earlier history is outlined briefly in Appendix A.

5. The township is just over two miles at its widest point east-west and just over one mile north-south. According to Hale's map, it comprised just over nine hundred and ninety-one acres. The land is flat, but is cut by the steep-sided valley of Midge Brook/Swettenham Brook which separates the northern part of the township – Swettenham Heath, from the rest, and Swettenham from Kermincham. As this brook runs to join the Dane, which forms the southern/south-western boundary, the land between forms a sort of plateau, which drops down to the Dane in two steps (Plates 1-4 on pages 8 & 9).⁹ Swettenham Heath is an area of sandy soils; the remainder of the township is sandy and loamy.¹⁰

PRIMARY SOURCES

6. Three main primary sources were used; the parish records of baptisms, burials and marriages, which also included the churchwardens' accounts, the map of Swettenham drawn by Thomas Hale and dated 1762, and the probate inventories, wills and indentures held in the Cheshire Record Office. The Bromley Davenport Muniments held in the John Rylands Library were also consulted.¹¹ In this section, the value of these primary sources will be considered.

The Parish Records

7. All of the entries for the period under consideration were copied and each record of a baptism, burial or marriage was entered on an Access database. An example of a single entry is shown at Figure 2.

1663	
November	
25	
Baptism	
S	
Stronginthorne	
John	
M	
Stronginthorne	
Samuell	
Stronginthorne	
Anne	

Figure 2. An example of a single record from the database of entries from the parish register. A total of two thousand, two hundred and sixty-four entries were made. All the entries could then be searched, filtered or combined using any of the fields shown.

8. During this exercise, it became clear that the parish records could not be relied upon as a comprehensive and completely accurate record of the baptisms, burials and marriages in Swettenham between 1660 and 1770. For some entries, it was impossible to make out some of the details. It also became clear that Swettenham served as the place of burial, baptism and marriage for many people from neighbouring parishes. Sometimes the entry made this clear, but not always. This, together with the tendency for sons and daughters to be given the first name of their fathers and mothers, and the fact that a number of surnames were common to various families within Swettenham and neighbouring parishes, meant that in many cases it was very difficult to link different generations with any degree of certainty and therefore trace population change.

9. It also appeared to be the case that sometimes the entries were simply wrong, or never made. In the churchyard, there is a gravestone for Jeffrey Lockett senior, who was buried on 28th January, 1699, aged fifty-one, and his wife Catherine, who was buried on 25th November 1737 aged eighty-one. There is a probate inventory for Jeffrey Lockett dated 14th February 1699 which makes it clear he was the husband of Catherine, yet although Catherine's burial is recorded accurately in the parish register, there is no reference at all to Jeffrey's burial.

10. There are also a number of entries which imply that there should be other related entries. For example, the marriage of Joseph Holland and Hannah Thorley is recorded in

1732. Both came from Swettenham and the baptisms of their son Joseph and daughter Hannah are recorded in 1733 and 1738 respectively. There is also an entry for the burial of John Holland in 1735, son of Joseph and Hannah of Swettenham, yet no corresponding entry for his baptism. Similarly, there are entries recording the baptisms of children, but no record of their parents' marriage. It is possible that the parents may have married outside the parish and moved in before the birth of their first recorded child. The pattern of movement into and out of the parish will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Three.

Thomas Hale's Map

11. The map is fifty-four inches wide and thirty-six deep. In the left-hand corner it carries the title *A Plan of the township of Swettenham in the County of Chester belonging to Thomas Swettenham Esq* and in the right-hand corner *Mapped by Thomas Hale of Darnhall 1762*.¹² The map is of the township of Swettenham, not the whole parish and therefore it does not include Kermincham.

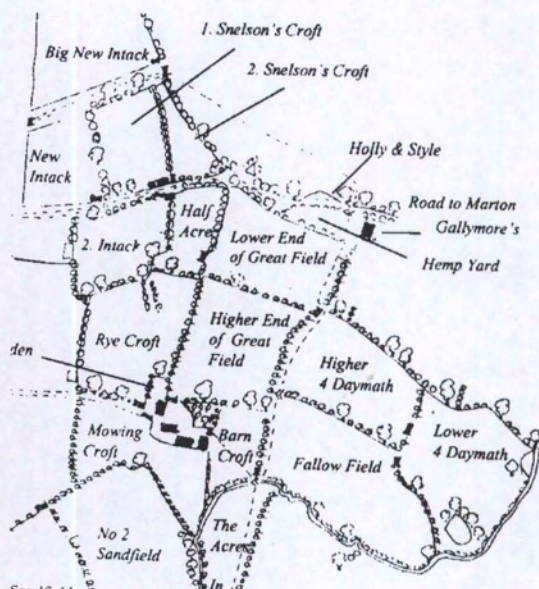


Figure 3. An extract from Thomas Hale's map, and how the same area was redrawn for the copy used in this dissertation based on a tracing of the map taken from photocopies supplied by the Cheshire Record Office. The colour and contrast of the reproduction of Hale's map have been adjusted for clarity.

12. Hale's map shows buildings, hedges and trees. Each field is named, and Hale has also allocated a letter of the alphabet to each separate piece of land. Parts of the map have become damaged to the extent that field names and the details of some field boundaries cannot be made out. Where this has happened, field names have been substituted from the 1839 tithe map.¹³

13. Unfortunately there is on the map no legend to indicate what the letters stand for. The obvious meaning is that they identify the separate fields and closes which make up individual tenements. This is considered in more detail in the next chapter on the landscape. Although Hale has drawn individual buildings, he has not named them or their occupants. In relying on the map as a primary source of evidence for land use and settlement, it is therefore important to establish how accurately the map depicts the landscape, and whether the buildings Hale shows are actual buildings which stood there at the time he made the map, or simply representations, used to indicate the presence of buildings.

14. On the first point – the accuracy of the map, it is clear by comparing it with subsequent maps, right through to modern Ordnance Survey maps, that Hale has accurately recorded the spatial relationships within the landscape (Figure 4). To test the accuracy of his representation of buildings, it is possible to refer to two buildings which are known to still stand today – the church and Clonterbrook House (Figure 5).



Figure 4. A comparison of Hale's map with the same area represented on the modern Ordnance Survey map shows that Hale was accurate in his depiction of the scale and spatial relationship of the landscape. Hale's map is dated 1762, which means he would have been working on it in that year, and probably earlier. His representation of the church (to the left of Rose Croft and below Barn Croft) shows the churchyard surrounded by what appears to be a fence rather than a wall. The parish records state that in 1761 the rails round the church were replaced with a brick wall. Hale appears to have drawn his map and shown the rails shortly before they were replaced. (Extract from Ordnance Survey Reproduced from 2000 Ordnance Survey Explorer map with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, © Crown Copyright NC/05/50503).

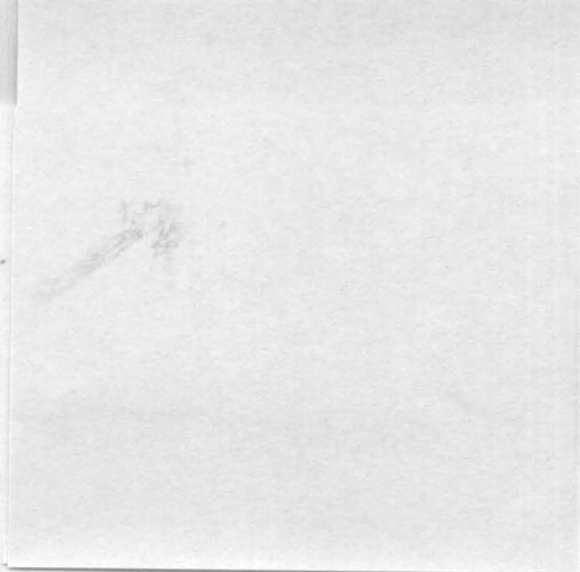


Figure 5. The back of Clonterbrook (map 66/25) photographed in 1959 and Hale's drawing of the house, which is also from the back, suggests he was broadly accurate in where he showed buildings to be standing and their spatial relationship to each other. In this case, he has drawn a dwelling house with two chimneys and a door at one end of the long side of the house. The house is two-storey, but Hale does not make this clear in his drawing. The long window in the centre indicates the stairway, in which case the door shown by Hale would be where the French windows are on the right.

15. These comparisons indicate that it is therefore fair to use Hale's map as an accurate depiction of the landscape of the township and the particular buildings which stood there at that time.

Wills and Probate Inventories

16. A list of the wills and probate inventories consulted is shown at Appendix D.

¹ In 1664, the nearest large towns were Macclesfield with a population of around 2,600 and Congleton with 1,700. Nantwich had around 2,900 and Knutsford and Middlewich less than 1,000 each. Chester had around 7,500. (J.H. Hodson, *Cheshire 1660-1780: Restoration to Industrial Revolution*, (Chester 1978)

² Cheshire Record Office P139/1/1, P139/1/2 & P139/3/1

³ Cheshire Record Office D/4025/8

⁴ J.P. Earwaker, *East Cheshire: Past and Present or A History of the Hundred of Macclesfield*, (London, 1877)

⁵ J Groves, *Piggins, Husslements and Desperate Debts – A Social History of North-East Cheshire through wills and probate inventories 1600-1700*. (Sale, 1994)

⁶ G.M. Wyatt, Nantwich and Wymbunbury 1680-1819: A demographic study of two Cheshire parishes. *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* Volume 139. (1990), pp.1-30.

⁷ M.J. Lovell, *A Village History: Swettenham*. (Norwich, 1952)

⁸ K.J. Matthews, *A Desk-Based Archaeological Assessment of Swettenham Hall Golf Course*, (Chester, 1992)

⁹ Map references throughout this work e.g. (map 73/30) refer to the maps at Appendices B and C. These are reproductions of Thomas Hale's map, to which a grid has been added. For ease of reference these Appendices have been included as loose sheets inside the back cover.

¹⁰ R.R. Furness, *Soils of Cheshire* (Harpden, 1977)

¹¹ The Davenports were significant landowners in the area (the Hale Map indicates that the neighbouring parish of Marton was owned by D Davenport Esq), and an initial search of the Library catalogue indicated that there may have been some papers relevant to Swettenham.

¹² Thomas Hale was a map-maker who worked in Cheshire as well as Montgomeryshire, Shropshire and Staffordshire. He was a schoolmaster in Darnhall (near modern-day Winsford in Cheshire), and it was not unusual at that time for teachers to also practice surveying. (S. Bendall, *Dictionary of Land Surveyors and Local Map-Makers of Great Britain and Ireland 1530-1850* (London, 1997). He produced a map of Henbury in 1794 (D5678/39) similar to the Swettenham map, as well as around Middlewich and Wymbunbury (D5678/37,

DBC/1720/22, DDX 70 and DDX 88). There also exists a volume printed in 1756 entitled 'A Compleat Body of Husbandry containing Rules for performing in the most profitable Manner The whole Business of the farmer and country gentleman.' The preface describes the book as being 'compiled from the original papers of the late Thomas Hale Esq' but it has not been possible to confirm whether there was a connection with the Thomas Hale who produced the Swettenham map.

¹³ Cheshire Record Office EDT/381/2. A comparison of the field names on the tithe map with those parts of the Hale map where the names are clear indicates that the names have not changed and therefore, with a degree of caution, it is reasonable to use these substitutes.



Plate 1. Showing the fall away of land from the central part of the township down to the River Dane. This view is from map ref 11/37 looking west towards where the fields Pingot, Patch, Gelding Seunt, and Meadow Glebe Land would have been. Far High Field and Near High Field would have been on top of the bank where the trees now stand. The River Dane flows beyond the field of wheat and off to the left of the picture. Sherman's Meadow is the field of grass beyond the river.



Plate 2. The fall of land down to Swettenham Brook on the north side of the township. This is The Clough from map ref 12/43 looking west towards Little Bank which is beyond the trees



Plate 3. The central, flatter part of the township. The photograph is taken from Big Town Field looking east (map ref 31/31) The fences follow the hedge boundaries shown on Hale's map. To the right of the trees, part of Town Field, to the left of the trees, Further Field. The gate on the left leads into Broomy Field and the footpath shown by Hale still runs along the boundary between Town Field and Further Field. The house in the distance (map ref 37/32) stands on the site of settlement E (see settlement map on page 13)



Plate 4. Part of Swettenham Heath. The hedge represents the southern edge of New Intack. (map 68/41) What was open heath on Hale's map is to the left of the hedge.

CHAPTER TWO - THE LANDSCAPE

17. Hale's map of 1762 is the earliest known map of Swettenham. This chapter will seek to establish what kind of landscape the map portrays, in terms of land use, pattern of settlement and buildings. The meaning of the letters Hale marked on the map is considered, together with an analysis of the type and distribution of field names to see what they indicate about land use. The evidence to indicate whether the landscape depicted by Hale was a recent one, or had been established for some time will also be considered.

The Letters on Hale's Map

18. If colours are substituted for the letters on the map, the resulting distribution is as shown at Appendix B. An obvious conclusion from the pattern which emerges, and the relationships to buildings is that the letters indicate the individual fields making up particular tenements. There are several indentures which would support this assumption. One from 1766¹ concerns the surrender of a lease made in 1747 and describes several fields which on the Hale map are all marked with the letter S and are shown shaded red on Appendix B. All the fields are grouped round the house, except one, which is by the river, and the lease refers to Dane Meadow.

19. Similarly, an indenture of 1766 refers to several closes, (shaded green on Appendix B), described as part of Swettenham Hall demesne, and an indenture of 1762² lists most of the fields which make up the brown diagonal shaded area, including *bank* on the north side of the house and the hempyards, indicating that the house and the tenement went together. The names given to the Banks in the areas shaded light brown and yellow diagonal (map 26/39) – Far Bank, Middle Bank and Near Bank in one case and Further Bank, Middle Bank and Nearer Bank in the other describe the fields' positions relative to the two groups of farm buildings which lie within the same shaded areas of the fields. On this evidence, it seems reasonable to accept that Hale's map shows the layout of the tenements in the parish at the time the map was done.

20. A possible pattern in the layout of tenements can be seen which could suggest they developed at different times. To the east and north of the road from Congleton (map 61/04), the fields are grouped together around their respective houses. West of the demesne lands of

Swettenham Hall the fields associated with particular tenements are mixed up amongst one another. The area west of the church shows evidence of some possible tofts in the form of Pear Tree Croft, Sharratts Crofts, and Barn Field (map 17/38) (Plate 5 page 16), running back from the lane in thin strips. There are no similar tofts in the eastern and northern parts of the township.

21. Another indication that different parts of the township were developed at different times is the distribution of trees. If an area had only recently been enclosed, or subdivided, then there would not have been time for trees to have grown to maturity for Hale to mark them on his map. Conversely, hedges which had been long established by the time Hale drew his map might be expected to show a comparatively greater number of mature trees. However, there is no obvious difference across the township in the distribution of mature trees on Hale’s map.

Field Name Evidence

22. Analysis of the field names recorded by Hale and a study of the wills and probate inventories enables the pattern of land use to be determined. There are two hundred and eighty-four names attributed to fields or other features on the Hale map. These are shown at Figure 6. The distribution of these names is shown at Appendix C.

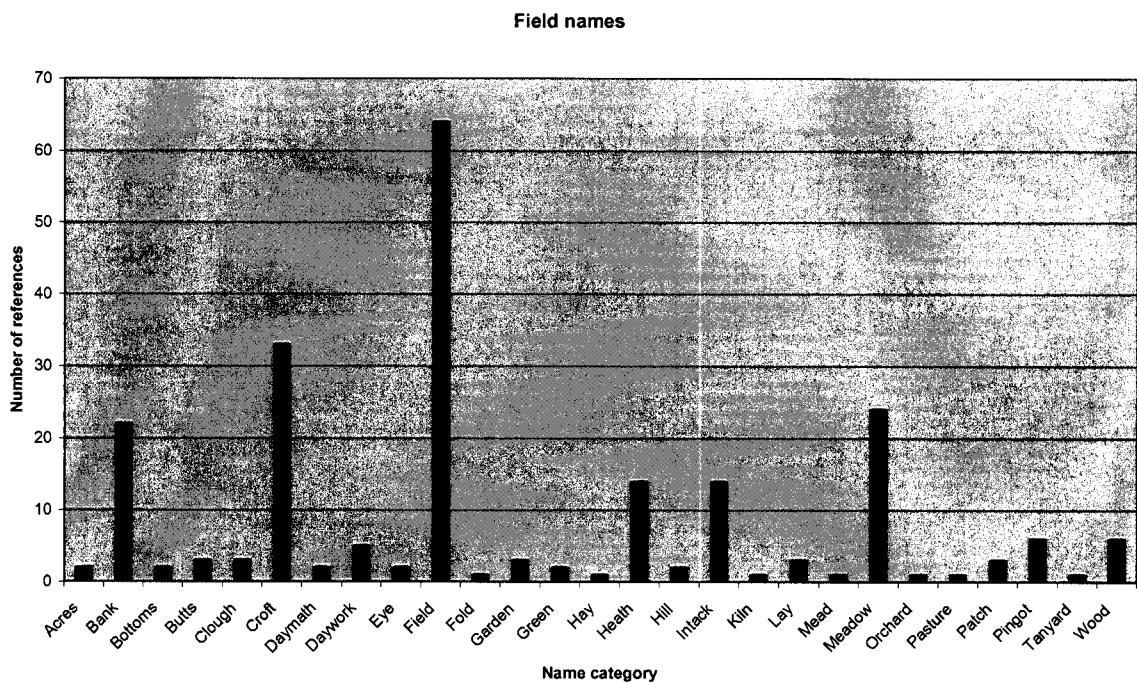


Figure 6. The name categories used by Hale to describe the various features on his map and the number of times each name appears on the map.

23. Most of the meadows are alongside the Dane or other water course and not surprisingly, the *bank* names are all distributed along the steep side of the brook. It is highly unlikely that these banks could have been used for anything other than grazing given the steepness of the slope. (Plate 6 page 16).

24. The *field* and *croft* names fill the centre of the township between the Dane and Swettenham/Midge Brook. The heath names are at the eastern end of the township. Swettenham Heath is surrounded by intacks, indicating that it was once bigger than shown on Hale's map. The fields on Perkins Heath (map 55/03) only have numbers, not names, suggesting they were relatively recent enclosures of the heath which had not yet had time to acquire individual names. The fact that they are numbered also suggests that the enclosure was done at one go, though Big Perkins Heath and Little Perkins Heath were perhaps enclosed earlier.³ Earwaker refers to an Inquisition Post Mortem for Edmund Swettenham of Somerford Booths (the neighbouring parish) which refers to him holding Perkins Heath in Swettenham in 1630.⁴

25. *Wood* names appear only on steep-sided banks with the exception of Higher and Lower Shear wood (map 62/23). As these fields are not next to any woodland, it is possible that they are named after the wood that stood there. Notwithstanding this, it is notable that there is no woodland in the open, flat country. Even the steep banks along Midge Brook/Swettenham Brook are clear of woodland. There are no other field names associated with woodland, or cleared woodland, suggesting the area had been cleared before the field names recorded by Hale had come into existence.

26. *Croft* usually refers to a small enclosure, often for the personal use of the family to provide their immediate needs.⁵ The enclosure named Rose Croft (map 25/36) is unusual as it is one of the biggest fields in the township. The name may simply refer to where wild roses grew, or it may have belonged to someone with the name Roe or Rowe, although Field also cites an example from 1653 of Roe Croft in Hilton (Staffs) which referred to rough ground.⁶

27. Cow Hill (map 36/24) is not a hill at all, though the fact that there might be just a slight difference in height over neighbouring fields would be enough to justify its name.⁷ Cloud Hill (map 39/37), as with Clough, may be related to Old English clōh – 'a dell.'

Yarwingles were used for winding skeins of yarn into balls⁸ so the field named Yaringle Meadow (map 16/24) may have a connection with wool or hemp production.

28. There are also several fields which have names which do not allow them to be put into any name category: The Slope; Shut Fallow; Dollox Moor; Dry Pits; Big Oultons; Little Oultons; Davenport Flat; Nowl; Little Mostin; Mitsick; Outlett; Gelding Scunt/Seunt; Shut Fallow, and Companow.

Continuity of Field Names

29. If it can be shown that there was continuity of field names through the period this can indicate that Hale was depicting an established landscape, as it can be assumed that if a field name is shown to have existed earlier, then so did the field to which it refers.

30. The Glebe Terrier of 1697 refers to a number of fields, and the location of several of these can be matched with those shown by Hale. The terrier identifies:

- A Croft next to the Parsonage house on the west side (map 20/39)
- Another Croft next to the first adjoining the Church field belonging to new Hall on the South, and Swettenham Green with a Hemp Butt on the East (map 17/33)
- One Field called Townfield bounding on the land of Thomas Swettenham Esq on the East and the lands belonging to the New Hall on the West and South
- One Meadow lying upon the River Dane on the West and compassed about with the Land of Roger Mainwaring Esq.(map 03/37).⁹

31. The account of the parish boundaries in 1677¹⁰ refers to:

- A meadow called the Eye by the river Dane at the western end of the parish (01/43)
- A little mead called Geldingsount south (map 06/37)
- Along by the river Mill Eye and Dales Meadow
- Yarwingle Meadow (map 16/24)
- Houghs Eye
- Flax Eye adjoining Somerford
- Perkins Heath (map 55/03)

- Midgebrook (map 64/15)
- Clonterbrook (map 66/25)
- The Holly and Stile (map 76/36) (Plate 8 page 17)
- The sandy bank called Cloud Hill (map 39/37)
- Orchard Butts
- Westwick Field
- Peartree Croft (map 16/38)

Land Use

32. There are seventeen inventories within the period which relate to farming or farming activities and with one exception, they all record both livestock and crops, indicating that mixed farming was taking place.

33. There are nine barn fields and three barn crofts - the presence of barns indicating arable farming as does the Daymath and Day Work fields¹¹ and also fields called Little Rye Croft, Big Rye Croft, Wheat Field and Corn Field. An indenture dated 24th September 1701 refers to ploughing and sowing and converting into tillage several fields.¹²

34. An indenture of 1762¹³ specifies how many crops may be grown before laying the field down to grazing, unless the field was new marled. Another of 27th December 1765¹⁴ between Thomas Swettenham and William Kennerley of Cranage for the lease of the mill does the same, specifying that the land may not be ploughed above three crops unless it was marled. Similarly the indenture of 1763 between Thomas Swettenham and Richard Goodwin, farmer¹⁵ sets out the requirements to marl and for how many years crops could be grown and required Goodwin to keep sufficient stock of cattle and marl and muck the fields before laying them down to grazing. Cow Lane Field and Further and Middle Cow Lane Fields indicate pastoral farming as does the frequent reference to cheese in the inventories.

35. An indenture of 1724¹⁶ refers to the surrender of a lease of 17th October 1665 for several closes of arable meadow, pasture and wood, and also making marl pits. Marl pits are also mentioned below Cloud Hill.¹⁷

36. Hemp yards and hemp butts are shown on Hale's map and there are references to braking and swingling in indentures of 1689, 1697 and 1700.¹⁸ An indenture of 1690 refers to hemp butts adjoining the tythe barn in Morton (Marton).¹⁹

Inclosing

37. Hale's map clearly shows that inclosing was taking place on Swettenham Heath. But was this only happening at the time Hale was preparing his map, or earlier? Some at least must have been recent, as Hale has shown the boundaries of some of the intacks as a line rather than a hedge, implying that there had not yet been time for a hedge to grow.

38. An indenture of 1766²⁰ refers to existing intacks and new inclosures on Swettenham Heath next to the farm premises. An indenture of 1724²¹ refers to 'that parcel of moss or common ground as it is already moored and lett out by Thomas Swettenham upon a certaine Heath in Swettenham called Swettenham Heath' suggesting that Thomas Swettenham was inclosing the Heath.

39. An indenture of 2nd February 1714²² refers to Ralph Barnett leasing 'the new inclosure lately taken in and inclosed on Swettenham Heath or Common and now marled adjoining the aforesaid tenement' and allows Ralph 'to inclose part of the Heath or Common of Swettenham upon Cloud Hill.' In a document dated 5th January 1697,²³ Samuel Beesley, a husbandman of Kermincham gave notice that he had enclosed an area of about one Cheshire acre on the commons of Kermincham without the consent of Thomas Swettenham, 'a considerable character or freeholder in the lordship.' Beesley therefore undertook to pay an annual rent of 6d and in return the land would 'remain enclosed and possessed' by him.

40. An indenture of 1680²⁴ refers to land in Swettenham 'known as Barne Field (heretofore divided into several parts).' Which Barn Field this might be, it is impossible to say, as there are nine shown on Hale's map but it suggests that the field was already inclosed into smaller closes by 1680. The description of the township boundary in 1677²⁵ refers to encroachments on the northern edge of the Heath and 'several cottages lately erected.'

Distribution of settlement & type of settlement

41. The distribution of buildings across the township is shown on the map below (Figure 7).

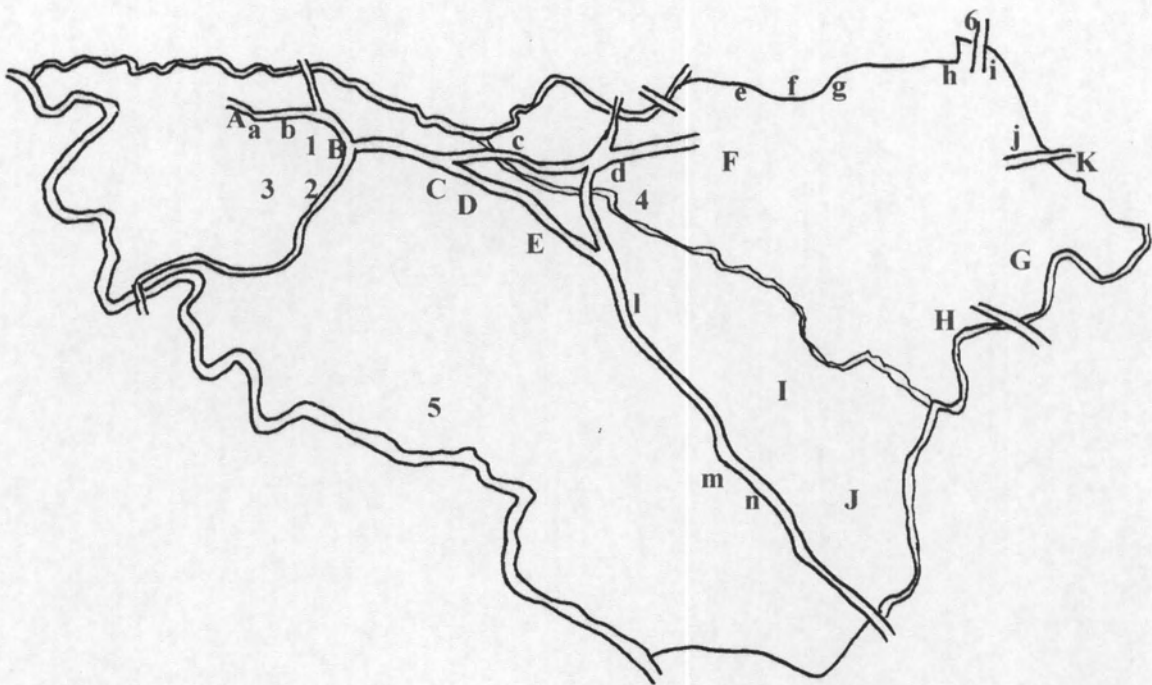


Figure 7. The distribution of buildings in the township. Numbers represent the Rectory (1), Church (2), Swettenham Green House (3), Mill (4), Swettenham Hall (5) and the Swan Ale House (6). Capital letters represent larger houses – two or more chimneys with outbuildings around a yard. Small letters represent individual houses or cottages with few or no outbuildings.

42. It can be seen that there is no obvious concentration of buildings anywhere in the township. The nearest there is to this is around the church. Here, in addition to the church there is the rectory, Swettenham Green House and three other buildings. But it would be stretching a point to describe this as a nucleated settlement. Elsewhere the settlements are strung out along the road at intervals. Only in the east and north – the area where the difference in the field layout relative to the buildings has already been remarked upon (paragraph 20) – are the farms situated away from the road. Two, I and J are at the end of lanes which lead to nowhere but those farms. Around Swettenham Heath, there are on the north side a number of small buildings - e, f, g, h, i and j. It may seem odd that a large house such as Clonterbrook (H) is built on the edge of the Heath, but perhaps the The Swan Ale House (6) on the other side of the Heath and routes out of the township to the neighbouring

parishes of Somerford, Marton and Withington indicate that this was not an isolated part of the township.

43. The type and layout of each group of individual buildings is considered in more detail in Chapter Five. For now, it can be noted that the buildings on the north side of Swettenham Heath (e, f, g, h, i and j) are small with no associated outbuildings and are located in small crofts. The presumption is that these are the houses of those who were inclosing the heath, and the description of the boundary²⁶ of the township supports this – ‘along Swettenham Heath ... taking in several cottages lately erected and encroached upon the wast (viz) Porters Linneys and Lathoms and so to the sandy bank called Cloud Hill where there was another encroachment.’ One of the crofts shown on Hale’s map is Linnes Croft. (map 65/423

44. Farms of the type with a substantial house (two or more chimneys) are at A, B, C, K, and H, and those built around a yard are at A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H and J. In other words they are spread across the township. Moreover, most of them (A, B, D, E, F, G, H, I and J) stand at the centre of tenements. The assumption is that these more substantial farms had been established for some time – a house with two or three chimneys, a barn and a shippon – would not have sprung up overnight. Therefore this pattern of settlement and the associated tenements were long established in the township at the time of Hale’s map.

45. The settlements do not impinge on the area of the hall demesne, the town fields or the area west of Swettenham Green (map 20/34. There is the possibility that the road skirted round what might have been two open fields which had been inclosed before the period under consideration. *Town Field* is generally, though not always taken as indicative of open or common fields²⁷ as is the presence of *Butts* and *Flatts*.²⁸

Conclusion

46. Field names recorded by Hale can be seen to go back to the late seventeenth century. Similarly many of the buildings were also well established. Use was being made of all available land. There was very little common land, except Swettenham Heath and this was being eaten into. Hale’s map therefore shows a landscape which had existed for some time by the time that he drew it. Gray states that the evidence from thirteenth century charters infers that Cheshire’s open fields were small (in comparison with those of the Midlands), and that

studies of Great Budworth and Davenham in 1650 showed no common arable field, only closes.²⁹ It may be that Hale's map therefore depicts a landscape of the mid-seventeenth century, and possibly earlier.

¹ Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32/7 between Thomas Swettenham and Mary Bostock

² Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32/7 between Thomas Swettenham and Thomas Stones for New Hall tenement

³ However, care must be taken in assuming that fields which only have numbers were recent creations. Seventy-seven years after Hale drew his map, none of these fields had acquired individual names and were all described on the 1839 tithe map simply as Perkins Heath.

⁴ Earwaker, *East Cheshire: Past and Present*, p.645.

⁵ J Field, *A History of English Field Names* (Harlow, 1993) p.20

⁶ Field *A History of English Field Names* p.36

⁷ Field *A History of English Field Names* p.43

⁸ B. Trinder & J Cox (Eds), *Yeomen and Colliers in Telford: Probate Inventories for Dawley, Lilleshall, Wellington and Wrockwardine 1660-1750*, (Chichester, 1980) p.63

⁹ Roger Manwaring's lands are shaded blue on Appendix C

¹⁰ Contained in the parish register Cheshire Record Office P139/1/1

¹¹ the number of days it took to plough the field

¹² Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32/2 between Thomas Swettenham and William Arrowsmith of New Hall tenement

¹³ Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32/7 between Thomas Swettenham and Thomas Stones

¹⁴ Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32/7

¹⁵ this is the first time the word farmer is used in any of the documents

¹⁶ Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32/7

¹⁷ Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32/7

¹⁸ Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32/6. Braking was a part of the process of hemp production

¹⁹ Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32/6 This is the only mention of a tithe barn, and it is outside the parish., though the document for the sale of the manor and advowson dated 1671 refers to 'one hempyard in the east end of Swettenham Heath at the tythe barn' (Bromley Davenport Muniments, John Rylands Library University of Manchester)

²⁰ Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32/7 between Mary Bostock and Thomas Swettenham which refers to Farm F, Figure 7.

²¹ Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32/4 between Thomas Swettenham and Thomas Vauwdery, carpenter,

²² Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32

²³ Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/16a

²⁴ Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32

²⁵ Contained in the parish register Cheshire Record Office P139/1/1

²⁶ Contained in the parish register Cheshire Record Office P139/1/1

²⁷ A.R.H. Butler & R.A. Butlin, *Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles*, (Cambridge, 1973) p.33

²⁸ R. Muir, *Landscape Encyclopaedia*, (Bollington, 2004) p.87

²⁹ H.L. Gray, *The English Field Systems*, (London, 1959) pp.249-256

Plate 5. Barn Field from the south west corner (map 19/36). This field remains the same as Hale drew it on his map. The white building partly hidden by trees is the rectory and the building in the centre is on the site of the long building within the rectory grounds (map 20/40)



Plate 6. Looking north across Swettenham Brook from Nearer Bank (map 37/33) to Cloud Hill. This shows the steepness of the banks



Plate 7. Looking east towards Sherman's Big Field (middle of picture) and Dollox Moor (beyond the line of four trees) seen from Pingot (map 08/38)



Plate 8. Holly and Style (map 76/36) on the parish boundary. The description of the parish boundary in the parish records for 1677 refers to The Holly and Style. The hedge on the left is holly and the style as shown on Hale's map would have been where the road sign is now. The rooftop on the right is Gallymore's.



Plate 9. An unchanged feature in the landscape. The widening of the verge on the left shown on Hale's map can still be seen today (map 73/36). The hemp yard by Gallymore's would have been beyond the gate in the centre right of the picture



Plate 10. Evidence of the feature drawn by Hale on Swettenham Heath (map 65/38). The grassy area corresponds to the feature (which extends to the right off the picture). It is slightly sunken, and the straight sides and right-angle corners shown on the map suggests it is man made, yet it stands away from any buildings on a part of the Heath not yet inclosed. On the tithe map, the area is shown divided into four small fields, two described as 'heath planted.' Jonathan Pepler has suggested this may indicate a plantation.



CHAPTER THREE – THE POPULATION

47. Having established the landscape of the township over the period under consideration, this section considers general themes related to the population as a whole.

Population Stability and Movement

48. The Poll Tax return for Swettenham¹ in 1660 records fifty-seven people, and twenty-eight different family names. Of these names, eight are not recorded in the parish register. In the hearth tax four years later, nine of these twenty-eight families are not recorded, but nine new family names have appeared, though only one is recorded in the parish register.

49. For the whole period there are over four hundred different family names listed in the parish register. It is not possible to give an accurate number, partly because some entries are illegible and partly because of the various spellings of names. It is not clear whether these are different families, or variations on the spelling of the same name.

50. What is noticeable is the lack of continuity of these names over any length of time in the register. There are very few surnames which appear throughout the period. These are shown at Appendix E. Even in the cases of these families, where the appearance of the name in the parish records at points throughout the period would appear to suggest continuity, it is not possible from the records to confirm this. Thus, there are records of baptisms of children whose parents were Thomas and Mary Yarwood. Although there is no date for their marriage, the dates of the baptisms – in 1746, 1748, 1750, 1751, 1753, 1755 and 1758 suggest that these are all siblings with the same parents. The marriage of William Snelson to Rebeckah Doin is recorded in 1681, and so the assumption can be made that children who were baptised in 1682, 1683, 1688, 1690 and 1694 and whose parents are recorded as William and Rebeckah Snelson, were all from the same family. However, beyond these two generations – the parents and their children, it proved almost impossible to make a link to third or later generations. So even where family names do appear throughout the period, it cannot be stated with certainty that these families were present throughout the period.

51. Most of the surnames appear for short periods only – in some cases a single burial, baptism or marriage, others for just a few years. This may be because the basic family unit was a married couple with their children which this lasted only as long as the marriage² or because of a failure to record their presence in the parish records, or it could be an indication that families moved into and out of the parish. That there was substantial movement into and out of the parish is perhaps indicated by the extent to which people getting married were not from the parish (Figure 8).

Total number of marriages recorded 1660-1770	219
Bride and groom came from outside the parish	63
Bride came from outside the parish and the groom from inside	28
Groom came from outside the parish and the bride from inside	32
Both partners came from inside the parish	66
No details recorded	30

Figure 8. Movement into the parish for marriage. This was reckoned using the database to select all the marriages recorded, and noting whether the bride or groom was from the parish. Of the two hundred and nineteen marriages recorded in Swettenham church in only sixty-six were both partners from the parish.

52. The same is the case for burials and baptisms:

	Total	From inside the parish	From outside the parish
Baptisms	1,114	783	150
Burials	909	663	246

Figure 9. The extent to which there was movement into the parish for baptisms and burials. (One contributory factor may be the fact that Siddington chapel was not licenced for burials or baptisms until 1721 and there is no mention of a curate being nominated until 1695)³

53. Nationally, internal migration was not unusual but limited in geographical range. In Terling (Essex), courtships were concentrated within a ten mile radius.⁴ Hinde cites Cardington in Bedfordshire in 1782 where only one third of the heads of families had been born in Cardington, and of those born outside the parish, more than half of the males and most of the females came from within five miles. Only 11% of men and 18% of women came from more than ten miles away.⁵

Marriage

54. Nationally the mean age of bachelors and spinsters when they married was between twenty-six and twenty-eight for men and twenty-five and twenty-six for women.⁶ More locally, in Nantwich, the mean age for women to marry was 22.72 in 1700-1719 and 28.4 1740 to 1759.⁷ Of the one hundred and sixty marriages where ages of both spouses known, seventy-eight husbands were older, eighty were younger.⁸ Half of all men got married between ages of twenty-three and thirty, and half of all women between twenty-two and twenty-nine.⁹

55. For Swettenham there were no corresponding baptismal records for the individuals involved in the six marriages recorded between 1680 and 1700.¹⁰ From 1700 onwards the results are as follows:

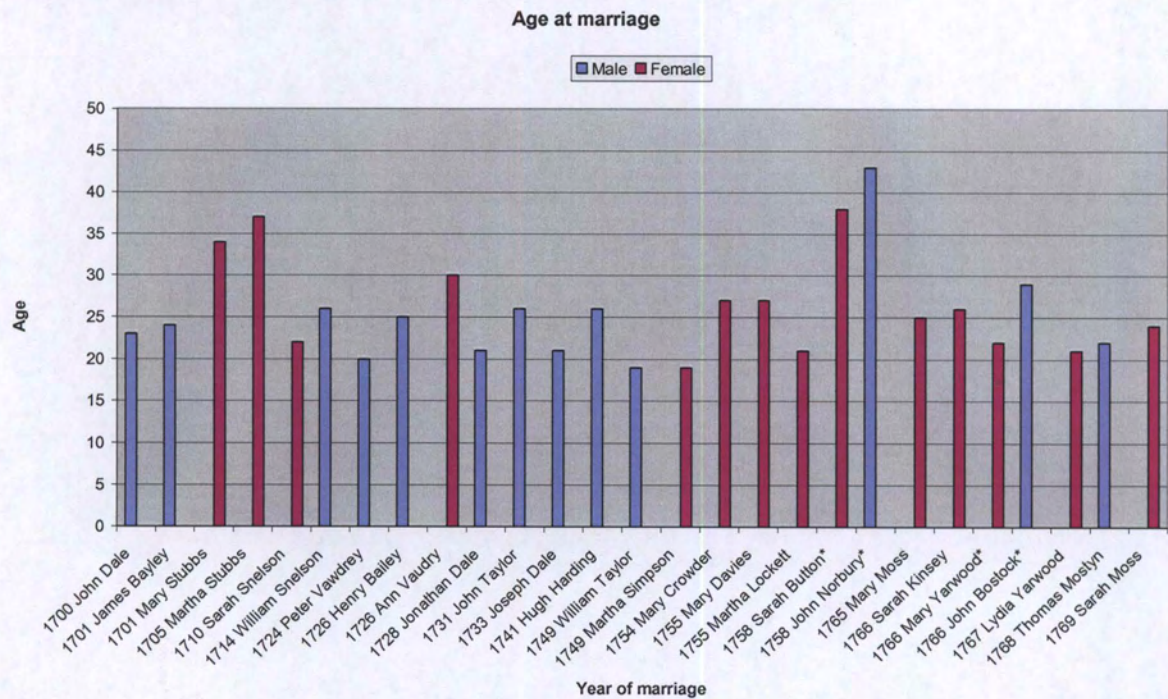


Figure 10. For those marriages where the bride or groom was from Swettenham or Kermincham, the database was searched for where those same names occurred as a baptism entry. This would enable the age of the individuals when they married to be calculated. Because of the prevalence of people with the same surnames and first names, there was difficulty in being able to say that it would definitely be the same individual, and therefore the results are to be treated with a degree of caution. * There are the only two cases where it was possible to identify both partners in the marriage – Sarah Button and John Norbury in 1758 and Mary Yarwood and John Bostock in 1766.

Marriage	Burial	Length of marriage
William Dale & Jane Pownhall 12th October 1663	Jane Dale 17th March 1675	11½ years
William Dale & Elizabeth Pownhall 10th December 1665	Elizabeth Dale 21st January 1673	7 years
John Arrowsmith & Elizabeth Fallow 30th January 1678	Elizabeth Arrowsmith 10th May 1706	28 years
John Snelson & Mary Fisher 30th February 1690	Mary Snelson 24th August 1711	21½ years
John Dale & Margaret Leadbeater 29th March 1676	Margaret Dale 13th June 1718	42 years

Figure 11. The duration of marriages could be worked out by selecting on the database all entries for burials and for those where the spouse of the buried person was named, carrying out a separate search, this time under marriages to find marriages where these two people were married. There were seventy-eight burials where the spouse was named. Of these, only twenty-two were specified as being from Swettenham or Kermincham. Of the seventy-eight, a link between a burial and a marriage couple could only be made in the five marriages shown.

56. There is no record of any children for William and Jane Dale or John and Margaret Dale but William and Elizabeth Dale had three children recorded as baptised in 1666, 1669 and 1672, making the oldest seven years old and the youngest around one when their mother died. There is no record of the children’s burial or later marriage. John and Elizabeth Arrowsmith had one child baptised on 5th November 1678, just ten months after his parents’ marriage.

57. John and Mary Snelson had five children, baptised in 1690, 1692, 1693, 1694 and 1696. The second and fifth died within two months of their baptism. Of the other three, there is no record of a burial or subsequent marriage. Therefore, in the case of the children of William and Elizabeth Dale and John and Mary Snelson, the fact that there are no further entries for their children – either burials or marriages is further evidence of social movement, this time that they had moved out of the parish.

Infant Mortality

58. Two of John and Mary Snelson’s five children died, and an overall impression of infant mortality can gained by analysing baptism and burial entries.¹¹

59. Whilst the date of baptism is not necessarily the date of birth, this can for the sake of argument be taken to be the case. For example, for the children of John Shaw the rector, a little more detail than normal was entered in the parish register. Richard Shaw was born ‘about 11 o’clock of the forenoon on 5th September 1686 and baptised on 8th September.’ Katherine Manwaring, daughter of Roger Manwaring, gent, was born 19th April 1691 and baptised 28th April. The child of another of the rectors, Joseph Harwar, was ‘Born 51 minutes past 8 of the clock at night 14th May’ and baptised 19th May 1720. Baptism therefore seems to have taken place at most within ten days.¹² When there was an unusual length of time between birth and baptism this was also recorded – Thomas Richardson ‘born 31st January but not baptized until 29th March.’

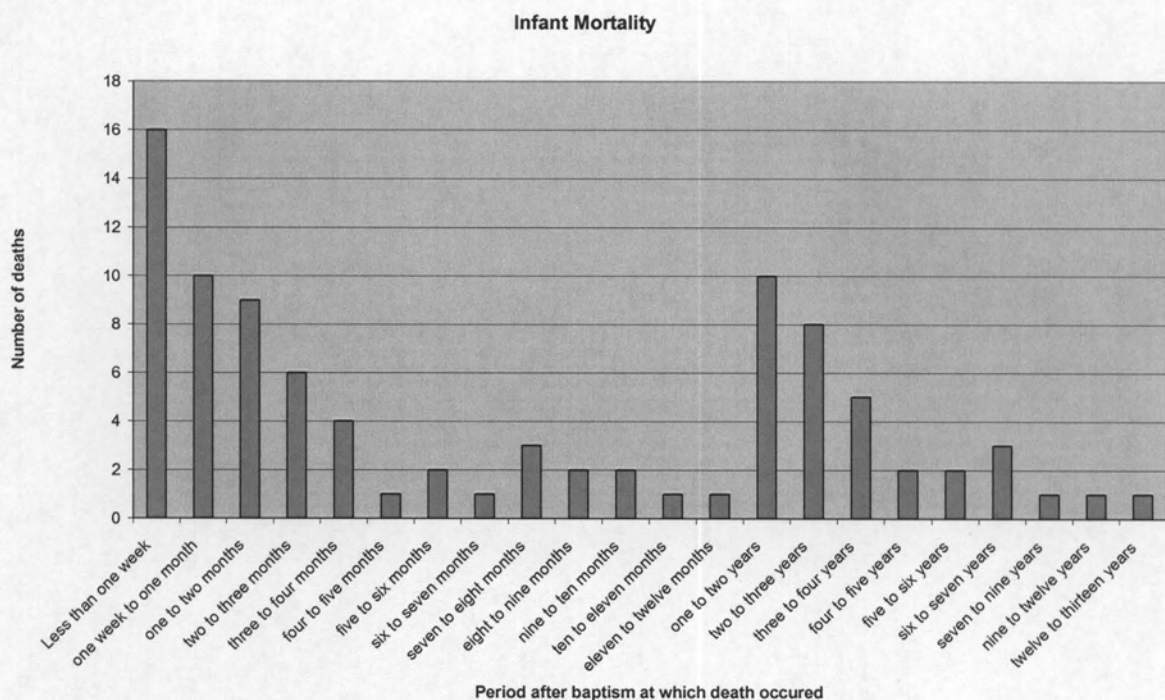


Figure 12. There were two hundred and fifty-eight entries which related to the burial of children, but only in ninety-one cases was it possible to identify a corresponding entry for the baptism. The first few weeks and months of life were the most dangerous. Half died within six months of their baptism. The normal pattern of infant mortality was that more died in the first month than the next eleven months.¹³ In Nantwich, more than one third of children died before fifteen years of age.¹⁴

Illegitimacy

60. Illegitimacy was an offence against Christian morality, and a source of possible expense to the parish if the child was not supported.¹⁵ Nationally, it was rare in the sixteenth century but becoming less so in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

61. There were thirty seven illegitimate births recorded in the parish register. These are recorded in Appendix F. Of these, four were for mothers from Lower Withington. The first recorded baptism on 9th June 1663 was for a birth where both parents were from outside the parish.¹⁶ For the remainder, it was recorded that the mother was from Swettenham or Kermincham or it has been assumed that they were. This gives thirty-two illegitimate births in Swettenham out of a total of one thousand one hundred and twelve recorded baptisms. It is quite possible that some illegitimate births were not recorded, for example if the mother left the parish, or if there was no baptism. It is not clear if there was any distinction implied in the description of the child as either illegitimate or bastard, as both terms were used during the office of the same rector.

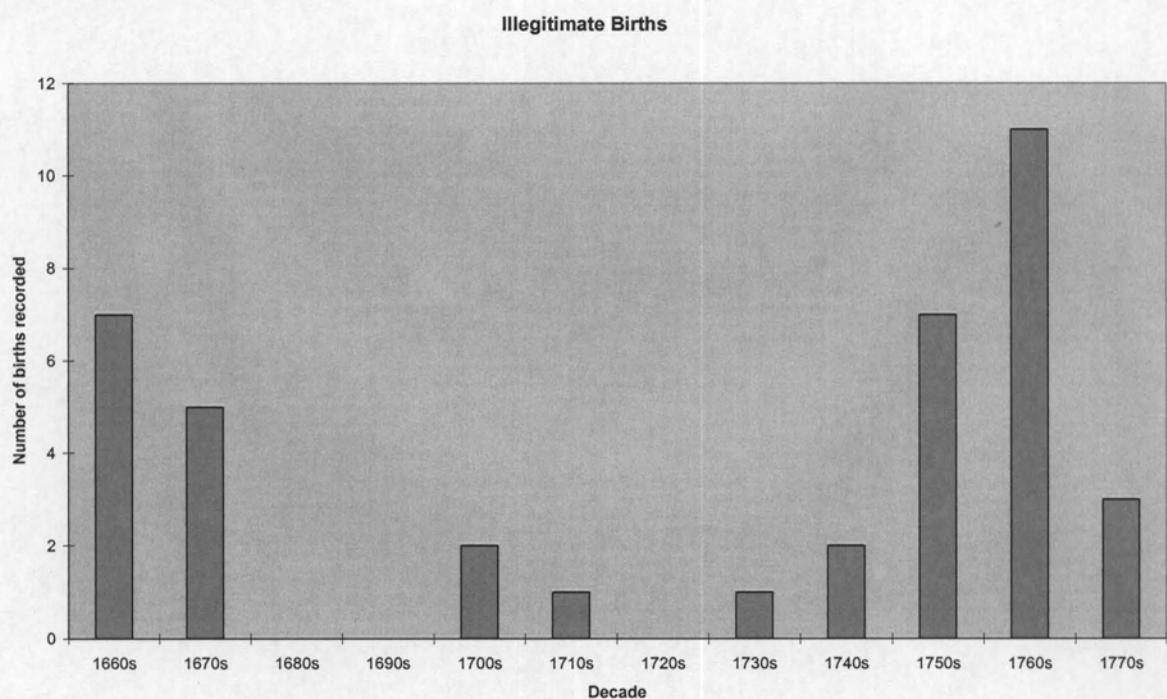


Figure 13. In two of the recorded cases, the entry is for the child's burial, there being no corresponding entry for a baptism. In two others, the child is recorded as being buried within two months of their baptism. This it would appear that four out of the thirty-six died soon after birth – a higher proportion than those born within marriage.

62. From 1732, in theory, if a woman became pregnant, she was required to declare this and name the father, so that she was not able to dispose of the child and the father could not escape the financial obligations on him.¹⁷ In the Swettenham register, only the mother's name is recorded, except for two entries, both before 1732. One states 'by Lawrence Streete the reputed father' (1672) and the other 'Tymothy Mosson the reputed father' (1676). In neither case does the fact that the parish seemed to regard Streete and Mosson as the accepted father seem to have exerted any pressure on them to marry as there is no record for either of them marrying the mothers.

63. There are only two entries where it seems likely that a marriage occurred linked to the birth. The first was that of William Burgess and Ellen Street. Their marriage took place on 2nd February 1702. The register records the bastard daughter of Ellen Street being baptised on 16th December 1701. There is no way of knowing if the marriage was one of convenience to give respectability to the offspring, or the birth was one to a couple who intended marrying anyway and had begun their marital relations before getting married. The child was buried on 20th February, just over two weeks after the wedding.

64. The second entry was that of Hannah Shepley who was born 20th January 1740, making her twenty when her illegitimate son Thomas was baptised on 15th August 1760. On 6th September, 1760, about three weeks after the baptism, a Hannah Shepley married John Titler from Great Budworth.

65. For a few of the other entries it is possible to work out the age of the mother or father. Ellen Street was about thirty-two when her daughter was born. Martha Davy was eighteen when her baby was born. The baby lived two months. There is no record of Martha marrying. A Sarah Davy was born 24th April 1743 and if this is the mother, she was sixteen when the baby was born. There is no record of Sarah marrying. There is no record of the marriage of the parents of Martha and Sarah, so they may have married outside the parish and presumably then moved in at some time before the birth of their daughters. They also had a third daughter, Elizabeth, born in 1733. There is no record of her in the parish register. Mary Davy, the mother, died in 1762.

66. There is also the possibility of illegitimacy running in certain families, suggesting they were families on the edge of respectability. There is a record for Ann Dale of

Kermincham having an illegitimate daughter in 1761, and then a second entry for Ann Dale of Kermincham having an illegitimate daughter in 1764. Similarly, as well as the illegitimate daughter in 1759 of Martha Davy referred to above, who was from Kermincham, Ann Davy, also of Kermincham had an illegitimate daughter in 1763. Ann Davy was baptised in 1744 making her nineteen when she had her daughter. A Hannah Vawdrey was born illegitimate in 1746 and twenty years later, a Hannah Vaudrey gave birth to an illegitimate daughter. As with Dale, Vaudrey, in its variant spellings was a common name in the area so it is possible that these were two different Hannahs.

67. There is only one indication of how illegitimacy was regarded and that comes from the will of Edward Sharman of Swettenham, yeoman, in 1662. Edward, who left legacies for his six daughters (one of whom was Anne) and one son, instructed his executors to ‘deduct from Anne’s legacy so much as to maintain her bastard child.’ As will be seen in Chapter Five when wills are looked at in detail, it was common to make provision for children and grandchildren and it seems that in Edward Sharman’s case, this principle still held, even though his grandchild was illegitimate.

Birth Control

68. Whether any form of birth control was used can be gauged from the size of families and the intervals between births within families. Appendix G gives these details for those families where it was possible to calculate this information from the parish register. Of the twenty one families considered, sixteen had between four and nine children, born with very little gap between succeeding children. This suggests that birth control was not practiced, and nor was there any difference between the social classes, as the pattern is evident in both the Swettenham and Manwaring families. The range of family sizes in Nantwich between 1660 and 1779 was from one to fifteen, with a median of 4.33.¹⁸

Population change

69. Nationally there were falls in the population between 1678 and 1686 of 200,000 and 1727 and 1730 of 200,000.¹⁹ In Swettenham, based on the records of baptisms and burials of those who were recorded as from the parish,²⁰ the population was declining until the late 1680s, then a slight increase through to the 1720s, and for the remainder of the period a

marked increase. Of course, this does not take account of the movement of people into and out of the township. As has been suggested, such movement appears to have been a common feature throughout the period.

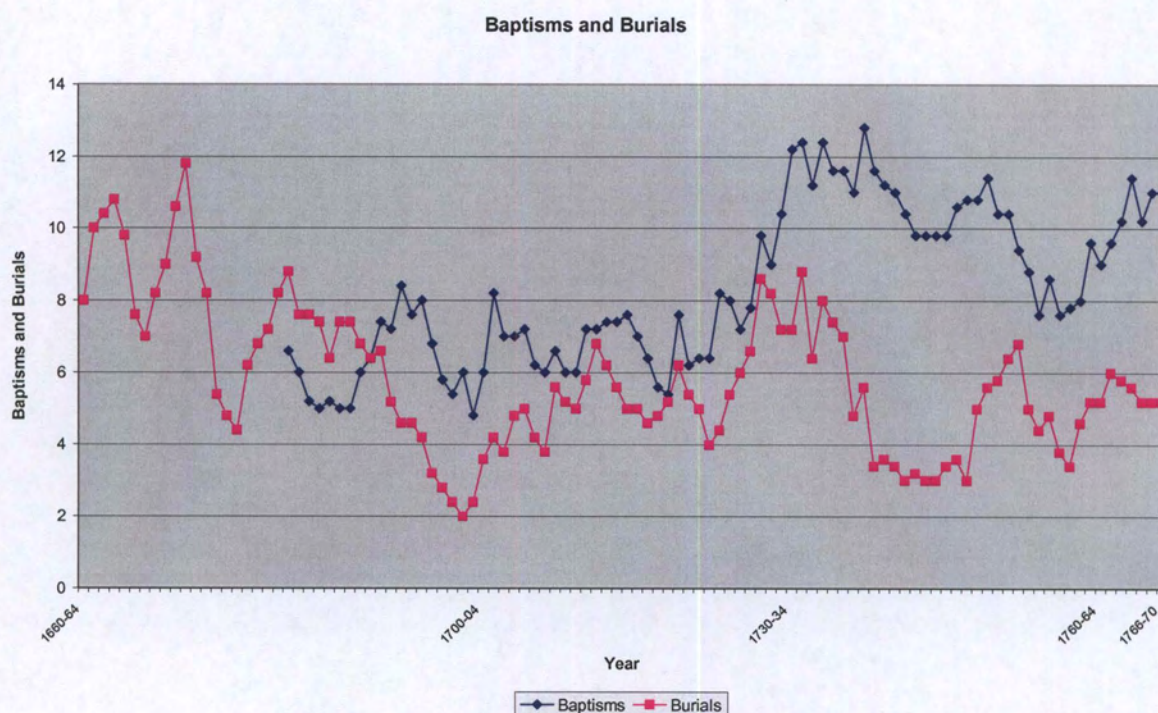


Figure 14. In a small parish the fluctuations from year to year in burials and baptisms make it difficult to work out the norms.²¹ To try and overcome this, a five-year moving average was used. 1727-1730 were crisis years nationally – possibly due to smallpox and bad harvests.²²

Conclusion

70. It is difficult to draw firm conclusions about the population of the township during the period under consideration. The accuracy and comprehensiveness of the main source of information – the parish records, cannot be relied upon. Furthermore, they do not record the movement of people into and out of the parish. As has been suggested, this could have been quite considerable and would therefore have had an effect on population numbers which is not reflected in the records of baptisms and births.

¹ G.O. Lawton, Northwich Hundred Poll Tax 1660 & Hearth Tax 1664, *Record Society of Lancashire & Cheshire*, Vol CXIX (1979)

² A. Hinde, *England's Population – A History since the Domesday Survey* (London, 2003) pp.118-119

³ R. Richards, *Old Cheshire Churches*, (Manchester, 1973) p.303

⁴ K Wrightson and D Levine, *Poverty & Piety in an English Village 1525-1700* (Oxford, 1995) p.76

⁵ Hinde, *England's Population – A History since the Domesday Survey*, p.156

⁶ E.A. Wrigley, R.S. Davies, J.E. Oeppen, & R.S. Schofield, *English Population History from Family Reconstruction 1580-1837* (Cambridge, 1997) p.134

⁷ Wyatt, Nantwich & Wymbunbury 1680-1819: A demographic Study of two Cheshire Parishes, p.12

⁸ Wyatt, Nantwich & Wymbunbury 1680-1819: A demographic Study of two Cheshire Parishes, p.13.

⁹ Hinde, *England's Population – A History since the Domesday Survey*, p.124.

¹⁰ Marriages before 1680 were not considered as it was unlikely that individuals would be marrying under the age of twenty, which would be the case if there was a baptism entry for them.

¹¹ This was done by searching the database for entries under Burials, and identifying those where the deceased was recorded as a son or daughter and their parents' names were also recorded. Because the parents' names were given, the assumption was that the deceased were children. Having identified this combination – deceased's name and parents' names, a search was then done for this same combination under Baptisms. The duration between baptism and burial could then be calculated.

¹² It has to be recognised that the entries where more detail is recorded are for those in the higher reaches of society. Their habits around baptism may have been different to those lower down the social scale, whose details were not recorded.

¹³ Wyatt, Nantwich & Wymbunbury 1680-1819: A demographic Study of two Cheshire Parishes, p.24

¹⁴ Wyatt, Nantwich & Wymbunbury 1680-1819: A demographic Study of two Cheshire Parishes, p.20

¹⁵ Wrightson and Levine, *Poverty & Piety in an English Village 1525-1700*, p.127

¹⁶ The father from Twemlow and the mother from Sandbach.

¹⁷ W.E. Tate, *The Parish Chest* (Chichester, 1983) pp.215-217

¹⁸ Wyatt, Nantwich & Wymbunbury 1680-1819: A demographic Study of two Cheshire Parishes, pp.16-17

¹⁹ Wrigley, Davies, Oeppen & Schofield *English Population History from Family Reconstruction 1580-1837*, p.348

²⁰ This was only recorded for baptisms from 1681

²¹ Hinde, *England's Population – A History since the Domesday Survey*, p. 94

²² Wyatt, Nantwich & Wymbunbury 1680-1819: A demographic Study of two Cheshire Parishes, p.9

CHAPTER FOUR - AGRICULTURE

71. This chapter will look at the evidence for the types of agriculture practiced, whether it was practiced on a large or small scale, and how far this evidence allows any conclusions to be drawn about how agriculture practice in Swettenham compared with elsewhere. This will be done by looking at the split between arable and pastoral farming, the types of crops grown and the size of herds and flocks.

Types of agriculture

72. Figure 15 gives a breakdown of the extent to which arable and pastoral farming was carried out. It can be seen that every farm practiced a mixture of arable and livestock farming. In terms of the value to the farmer, it might be argued that the value of livestock exceeded the value of crops. This is a pattern repeated in two examples quoted Foster. In 1661 John Nixon of Crowley had livestock at £84 and corn and hay at £19 6s, and Ralph Vernon of Aston had £178 3s 4d of livestock and £15 8s 4d of corn.¹ The exceptions are the two rectors, Thomas Addenbrooke and John Shaw, (and this might be expected if they were receiving tithes), Joseph Wilkinson and Randle Vawdrey in 1723 and 1728 and Mr Swettenham around 1714.²

Name & date of inventory	Livestock	Crops	Total value of inventory
Jeffrey Lockett 1661	£32	£12	£108 16s 8d
Edward Sharman 1662	£14 19s	£11 5s 1d	£117 16s 11d
Hugh Vawdrey 1672	£2 10s	-	£9 10s 4d
Edward Tompson 1673	£22 14s	£2 10s	Damaged inventory
Thomas Addenbrooke (rector) 1677	£2	£8 17s 4d	£109 12 6d
Roger Streete 1681	£12 12s 2d	£8 3s 4d	£40 13s 10d
Edward Lownds 1686	£16 2s	£11	£36 10s 10d
Anne Lockett 1688	£25 16s 8d	£12 13s 9d	£394 3s 8d
Jeffrey Lockett 1699	£28	£3 3s 4d	£87 14s 10d
James Lownds 1701	£24	£2 11s	£53 11s 9d
William Snelson 1711	£4 4s	5s	£14 17s
Mr Swettenham circa 1714	£28 4s	£62 19s 4d	£259 17s 16d
John Shaw (rector) 1715	£11 10s	£24	£341 12s 3d
William Brownsword 1716	£34 7s	£3 11s 6d	£116 3s
Joseph Wilkinson 1723	£15 4s 2d	£18 14s	£80 11s 6d
Randle Vawdrey 1728	£25 18s	£26 1s	£89 4s
Thomas Whittakers 1737	£34 2s 5d	£1 2s 6d	£143 1s 4

Figure 15. The extent and breakdown of farming activity between pastoral and arable farming. There were seventeen inventories where, based on the contents of the inventories, farming was clearly the occupation of the deceased.³

73. Figure 16 shows the range of animals kept.

Name & date of inventory	Cows	Horses	Sheep	Swine
Jeffrey Lockett 1661	7	3	Some	2
Edward Sharman 1662	4		1	
Hugh Vawdrey 1672	1			
Edward Tompson 1673	*	*	*	*
Thomas Addenbroke (rector) 1677		1		
Roger Streete 1681	7		6	2
Edward Lownds 1686	7	1	3	
Anne Lockett 1688	7	1	30	2
Jeffrey Lockett 1699	9	3		
James Lownds 1701	8			
William Snelson 1711	1		9	
John Shaw (rector) 1715	4			
Mr Swettenham*	4		30	6
William Brownsword 1716	11	1	11	Some
Joseph Wilkinson 1723	6	2		1
Randle Vawdrey 1728	8	1		1
Thomas Whittakers 1737	13	3		

*Figure 16. Numbers and type of animals kept. The total for cows is made up of the various descriptions of cows used in the inventories – milk cows, stirks, twinters, heifers and calves, so this gives the total size of the herd, and it is not possible to identify cows which were for milking. * Edward Tompson’s inventory was damaged and the numbers of animals cannot be made out.*

74. Cows were kept on all the farms but only in limited numbers. Trinder for Telford gives an average herd size varying between nine and thirteen for herds between 1660 and 1749,⁴ Hey gives sixteen to seventeen for Cheshire in the 1640s and twenty in the 1660s,⁵ and Hodson between six and thirty-six for Wilmslow between 1660 and 1690,⁶ so the Swettenham herds were smaller than these. There are references to marling in a number of indentures, but using muck also appears to have been common way of fertilising. Muck carts were listed in inventories throughout the period. (Plate 11 page 36).

75. Foster also suggests that a viable dairy farm was one with ten cows or more – this was enough to keep a dairywoman fully employed milking and cheese making. Otherwise, a man and boy could manage the work on a farm, with help between April and September from the

wife or daughter.⁷ This suggests the Swettenham farms were family run and did not employ significant numbers of workers.

76. There was an outbreak of rinderpest which started in 1745 and reached Cheshire in 1748.⁸ The churchwardens' accounts for 1746 and 1747 contain entries for 'orders about cattle' and as Thirsk comments, measures to deal with the outbreak included slaughter of animals and 'the stern watchfulness of parish officers ... many orders were passed along the chain of command from Westminster to the country JPs and thence to the parishes.'⁹ Possibly preparations were made, but Swettenham was spared. A Kermincham farmer, James Cherry had a herd of eighteen milk cows, three heifers, three twinters and four calves valued at £67 in 1750. This was the largest herd recorded in any of the inventories considered, and it suggests that the disease did not reach the parish.¹⁰

77. Trinder also gives average flock sizes for sheep of between twenty-one and forty-six.¹¹ Hodson records four out of ten prosperous inhabitants of Wilmslow having between nine and fifty sheep.¹² In north east Cheshire, flocks were often less than ten sheep¹³ so as with cattle, the Swettenham flocks were much smaller. Wanklyn suggests that small flocks were kept for their value in manuring the land as much as for the wool they provided,¹⁴ but it is debateable whether the handful of sheep kept on some farms could have fulfilled even this purpose. They may instead have supplied wool for home spinning – ten inventories mentioned equipment for spinning. Only Anne Lockett and Mr Swettenham had flocks of any size. They were two of the wealthier people in the township and consequently were better able to maintain larger flocks and so have better manured land.

78. Unless pigs were being kept for breeding, it was usual to slaughter them once beechmast and acorns had been consumed before the onset of winter.¹⁵ Of those who are listed as keeping pigs, all died outside this autumn/winter period, so it reasonable to assume that these were the actual number of pigs they kept. The values were one swine 17s (1662), two pigs 15s 6d (1688), swine 12s (1716), a sow and pigs £1 10s (1721) and one swine 13s 4d (1723).

79. Poultry¹⁶ are mentioned in six of the inventories but usually with other animals. Only in the list of Mr Swettenham's are the number and price given: twelve geese for 9s (9d a goose), six turkeys for 6s (1s a turkey), twenty hens for 6s 8d (4d a hen) and seven pullets for

2s 4d (4d a pullet). These prices allow a rough estimate of the numbers listed in some of the other inventories – accepting that the price may have changed over the years. Edward Sharman in 1662 had six hens, Thomas Addenbroke in 1677 poultry worth £1; if these were all hens, he had sixty of them. Anne Lockett in 1688 had geese, goslings and other poultry valued at 3s 4d, Joseph Wilkinson in 1723 had poultry worth 2s 4d (seven hens or pullets). Steer¹⁷ has two pullets for 1s 4d, or 8d each – twice the value of a Swettenham pullet. Only Mr Swettenham's list mentions turkeys.

80. There are no oxen recorded in the inventories and this fits in with the fact that by the 1690s their use had died out in most parts of Cheshire.¹⁸ Most farms had at least one horse.

81. Bees are mentioned in just one of the inventories - that of Joseph Wilkinson in 1723, valued at 5s. Because of their value, (a hive was equal in value to a sheep) it is likely that bees would be listed separately in an inventory,¹⁹ and therefore the absence in others implies no one else kept them.

82. It might have been expected that there would be evidence of use being made of the River Dane which flowed along the southern boundary of the township but Hale's map shows no features on or by the river and Edward Sharman's inventory of 1661, which refers to a fowling piece, as does Thomas Addenbrooke's of 1677 (worth 10s), are the only two references to anything that might suggest that use was ever made of the river. Fishing equipment could be listed in inventories,²⁰ but none of the Swettenham inventories list any.

Cheese

83. Of those who kept cows, most also produced butter and cheese. Producers of cheese, based on references in inventories, are given in Appendix H. Of those inventories which list cheese, Mr Swettenham's is the only one which puts a value against a specified quantity and only William Brownsword had anything like a similar quantity. The others had much smaller values, and in some cases none at all. Mr Swettenham's six cwt in 1715 came to 17s a cwt. His forty-two old cheeses would have been worth around 8s each. William Brownsword's £8-worth was the equivalent of around nine cwt and Joseph Wilkinson's to around something over one cwt. By comparison, John Nixon of Crowley in 1661 had £26 worth of cheese and

Ralph Vernon of Aston had four tons worth £100 in 1672.²¹ It appears that in Swettenham most producers were producing for home or local consumption.

84. Hey states that forty-four out of a sample of sixty-four inventories in Cheshire mentioned cheese and one quarter had a value of over £10. In the 1690s, twenty-one out of sixty-six Cheshire inventories had stocks worth more than £10.²² In this respect, Swettenham is typical in the number of people who produced cheese, but the value is low.

Hemp and Wool

85. Hemp as a crop is listed in just six of the inventories. Its value was between 5s and £1 6s 7d. Hemp production involved soaking the sheaves in water, often done in a specially dug pit because the hemp polluted the water.²³ As Hale wrote, 'a large shallow pond is best with a firm bottom – running water would answer best but is not permitted anywhere to use it for the hemp infects it and destroys the fish. After five days bundles are taken out and washed in another part of the pond.'²⁴ Wood or bracken was burnt in a kiln to produce potash for the soap used in cleaning. Kiln in a field name could therefore refer to this process.²⁵ The Hale map shows some ponds with divisions within them (map 53/11, 54/13 & 47/03 and plate 12 page 36) and a kiln field nearby so possibly these ponds were used for this purpose, the divisions enabling the polluted water in one part of the pond to be kept separate from clean water in another. However, hemp yards are shown at the other end of the township (map 29/37, 24/39 and 17/41). No ponds with similar divisions are shown near them but they are all near the brook.

86. Figures 18 and 19 show the extent to which spinning was carried out, both by those who owned sheep, and those who did not.

Name & date of inventory	Sheep	Wool	Spinning equipment
Jeffrey Lockett 1661	Some	No	None listed
Edward Sharman 1662	1	Yes 9s	Three spinning wheels 5s
Edward Tompson 1673	*	No	None listed
Roger Streete 1681	6	No	2 wheels (value unclear - listed with other items)
Edward Lownds 1686	3	No	Two looms and reels and warpstock £1 10s
Anne Lockett 1688	30	Yes 10s 10d	None listed
Jeffrey Lockett 1699	No	No	Three spinning wheels 7s 6d
Mr Swettenham	30	No	16s
William Brownsword 1716	11	Yes £1	Spinning wheel 2s
William Snelson 1726*	9	Yes	One spinning wheel, tow and wool cards (value unclear – listed with other items)

*Figure 18. Those who farmed and kept sheep, or did not keep sheep but had spinning equipment and therefore either kept sheep at one time, or brought in wool. *William Snelson was a weaver*

Name & date of inventory	Value of wool/yarn	Spinning equipment
Eleanor Kennerley 1671	£5 12 6d	Spinning wheels & cards 3s
Hugh Vawdrey 1672	None listed	Two coffers & a little wheel 10s
Elizabeth Hulse 1673	16s	Two little wheels 2s 8d
Mary Gravenor 1688	None listed	One wheel 1s 6d Two pair of cards 1s
Joseph Wilkinson 1723	None listed	Spinning wheel 1s
Randle Vawdrey 1728	£1 5s	Two spinning wheels 3s 6d
Joseph Taylor 1739	None listed	Spinning wheel 2s

Figure 19. Those who did not keep sheep but had wool or spinning equipment.

Cereals

87. Appendix I shows the crops listed in the inventories. Virtually all the farmers grew wheat and had a supply of hay. Only two, Anne Lockett and Mr Swettenham had malt and these were two of the wealthiest inventories considered – Anne Lockett's at £394 3s 8d and Mr Swettenham at £259 17s 6d. In the latter's case, it is almost certain that this was for brewing, as the inventory refers to the brewhouse and lists a brewing pan, boiler, and cooler.

88. Barley and oats were the next most common crops. There is only one reference to peas. Trinder notes that two thirds of references to rye were in inventories before 1700 and queried whether its use was dying out.²⁶ In Swettenham only two farmers grew it, and the last reference is 1701, though there is also a reference in Thomas Dudley's inventory of 1714 in Kermincham. Hey observes that clover was grown on one in every five farms in north Shropshire by the 1740s, but that no Cheshire inventories of the 1740s record it.²⁷ Swettenham supports this picture.

Potatoes

89. There is only one mention of potatoes – Peter Lounds of Kermincham who had 4s worth in 1727, compared to barley worth £1 6s, oats worth £1 10s, and livestock worth £15, in a total inventory value of £29 14s 4d. Groves states that the first mention of potatoes in north east Cheshire was 1687, and they were moderately widespread by the early eighteenth century.²⁸ Trinder cites just two references in 1728 and 1737.²⁹

Conclusion

90. This was not a township which specialised in a particular type of farming. Inventories indicate that all farms practiced a mixture of arable and pastoral farming, and on a scale for local consumption. Herds and flocks sizes were generally small, and the quantities of crops grown suggest that they were a subsistence crop. Cheese appears not to have been produced in the quantities it was elsewhere in the county where surpluses were exported out of the county for profit. On this evidence, the township was self-contained, and not involved in farming for profit.

- ¹ C.F. Foster *Cheese and Farming in the North West in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Northwich, 1998) p.9
- ² Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32/5. This is not a conventional invoice, but a document entitled *An Account of what goods Mr Swettenham takes to himselfe out of his Fathers inventory*. Although not dated, it is probably from around the time of the death of Thomas Swettenham in 1714, as it refers to a Hugh Harding, and there is a record of Hugh Harding's son being baptised in 1715.
- ³ Three others included reference to animals: Eleanor Kennerley (1671) was a widow and had six sheep valued at 15s and corn and hay worth £2. Mary Gravenor (1688) was a spinster with one cow and some sheep. Randle Kenerley, blacksmith (1689) had a barren heifer and a cow in calf and £1 worth of corn and hay.
- ⁴ Trinder, *Yeomen and Colliers in Telford*, pp.73-75
- ⁵ D. Hey, *The Agrarian History of England & Wales Volume VI 1640-1750 – Regional Farming Systems – Chapter 5: North West England* (Cambridge, 1984) p.153
- ⁶ J Hodson, *Cheshire 1660-1780: Restoration to Industrial Revolution*, (Chester, 1978) p.75
- ⁷ Foster *Cheese and Farming in the North West in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, pp.13-14
- ⁸ J Thirsk, *The Agrarian History of England & Wales Volume 3* (Cambridge, 1990) p.42
- ⁹ Thirsk, *The Agrarian History of England & Wales Volume 3*, p.187
- ¹⁰ It may be coincidence, but 1749 was the last year in which the accounts record payments for killing hedgehogs (also called urchins). These were stopped part way through the year '6 hedgehogs before countermand.' Before then, there were records for both hedgehogs and foxes heads. Throughout the period the payment remained the same – 2d for an urchin and 1s for a fox. The last payments for foxes were recorded in 1708. It is noteworthy that throughout the period there are no references to payments for sparrows, or any kind of bird, which were killed because of the damage they did to crops. Entries for sparrows killed - often in large numbers - are quite usual in the records of many parishes and it does not seem to be the case that they were not caught in Swettenham – the parish records contain an entry for 30th July 1743 stating that 3d would be paid for every score of sparrows destroyed.
- ¹¹ Trinder, *Yeomen and Colliers in Telford*, p.79
- ¹² Hodson, *Cheshire 1660-1780*, p.75
- ¹³ Groves, *Piggins, Husslements and Desperate Debts*, p.23
- ¹⁴ M.D.G. Wanklyn, *Direct Farming on the Estates of Cheshire Landowners circa 1570-1700* (*Northern History*, Volume XXXV (1999) pp.77-92
- ¹⁵ F.W. Steer, *Farm & Cottage Inventories of Mid-Essex 1635-1749* (London, 1969) p.56
- ¹⁶ geese, goslings, turkeys, hens and pullets
- ¹⁷ Steer, *Farm & Cottage Inventories of Mid-Essex 1635-1749*, p.58
- ¹⁸ Hey, *The Agrarian History of England & Wales*, p.153
- ¹⁹ Trinder, *Yeomen and Colliers in Telford*, p.40
- ²⁰ Groves, *Piggins, Husslements and Desperate Debts*, p.44
- ²¹ Foster *Cheese and Farming in the North West in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, pp.9-11
- ²² Hey, *The Agrarian History of England & Wales*, p.154
- ²³ E. Roberts, (Ed), *A History of Linen in the North West* (Lancaster, 1998), p.4
- ²⁴ Hale, *A Compleat Body of Husbandry*, pp.486-492
- ²⁵ Roberts, *A History of Linen in the North West*, p.4
- ²⁶ Trinder, *Yeomen and Colliers in Telford*, p.85
- ²⁷ Hey, *The Agrarian History of England & Wales*, p.152
- ²⁸ Groves, *Piggins, Husslements and Desperate Debts*, p.48
- ²⁹ Trinder, *Yeomen and Colliers in Telford*, p.86



Plate 11. The feature shown on Hale's map at ref 46/23, which has the appearance of a large pond. There are numerous ponds dotted around the township which could be marl pits, but this would appear too big to be one of those. Big Sand Field is between the feature and the trees in the distance. There is no evidence today of the adjacent rectangular feature (map 47/22)



Plate 12. The pond at map ref 53/11. Hale's map shows the pond in 1762 to have straight sides, to be divided across the middle and to narrow at the end furthest from the road. The narrowing is still evident and the banks jutting out into the middle are where Hale showed the pond to be divided. Similar, larger ponds with more divisions are shown by Hale on the other side of the road. They are all not far away from a field called Kiln Croft and might be linked to the production of hemp (see paragraph 85, page 32).

CHAPTER FIVE - EVERYDAY LIFE

91. Having in the preceding chapters considered the landscape, population and agriculture of the township in general terms, this chapter looks at aspects of everyday life in more detail, including people's houses, the work of the churchwardens, relationships within families and the community, the status of widows, levels of wealth and literacy and whether the township was a self-contained community or had contact outside the parish boundary. Finally, there is a closer look at some of the individuals within the community.

The Buildings

92. As was mentioned in Chapter Two, the buildings were dispersed around the township. A description of the arrangement of buildings is at Appendix J. The larger houses - those with two or more chimneys – are similarly dispersed, as are those which are farms (judging by their layout and associated buildings).

93. Generally speaking, brick was not used for small houses anywhere before the second half of the seventeenth century but brick chimney stacks were inserted in many timber-framed open hearths in the second half of the sixteenth century. From the middle of the seventeenth century minor gentry might live in smaller brick houses and by the last quarter of the seventeenth century houses built entirely of brick were lived in by those of lesser status.¹ Parsonages were usually built in the local vernacular and so provide an indication of the style and methods of construction.² The rectory at Swettenham is a timber framed building (plate 21 page 65). By 1750 timber-framed construction had virtually disappeared.³

94. It is not possible to tell what the buildings were made of from the detail in Hale's map. He used a red brick colour with yellow-green for the roofs. An indenture of 1766 refers to 'Brick House.'⁴ This may have been because it was unique in being made out of brick, implying that brick was not a common building material. Another indenture of 1763⁵ required the tenant to 'provide good and sufficient straw for thatching the premises.' The indenture for Swettenham Green House in 1702 required the tenant to make sure that the glass windows were in good condition at the end of the lease. These three documents are the only ones which give any indication of what the buildings were made of in the period. Writing in 1808, Holland stated that what he called medium farmhouses were now built of brick and slated, but older ones were usually timber-framed and infilled with brick and covered with thatch.

Cottages were of brick and roofed with slate or thatch. Older ones were timber and bricks or timber and hazel covered with clay.⁶

95. The use of rooms within a house can serve as an indication of whether the area was up to date with changing domestic habits. The parlour was in a state of transition in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It was becoming a second living room in the grander or socially advanced houses, but remained as the main sleeping room elsewhere and could also serve as a store room in smaller houses.⁷ The parlour and dwelling house were on the ground floor and the rooms described as chambers on the upper floor.⁸ Upstairs was for children and servants.⁹ The principal living room was the hall/house, which served also as the room for cooking as it was often the only room with a fireplace.¹⁰

96. Sixteen of the Swettenham inventories name rooms and their contents. The rooms are listed at Appendix K. These indicate that in Swettenham the dwelling house remained the room for both living and cooking, with the parlour used for sleeping. The contents of the chambers above the ground floor suggest that these were also used for sleeping¹¹ as well as storing goods such as cheese, corn, coffers and spinning wheels. In north east Cheshire, the dwelling house continued to be the main room for living and cooking until well into the eighteenth century, and in this respect the north east Cheshire was behind others where cooking was being done in a separate room.¹² Kitchens are mentioned in three inventories after 1737, but from their contents it appears that they were being used for the purposes Holland described – boiling whey and potatoes for pigs and cattle, and for making cheese.¹³ Apart from John Shaw's inventory of 1715, it was not until 1723 that there signs that rooms were taking on a function that might be described as indicating a specialised use. In that year, Thomas Wilkinson's inventory describes a 'Little Closet with Books and a writing desk' and a 'dining room.' Jeffrey Lockett's inventory of 1738 refers to a parlour, but it contained a desk and box, and he also had a dining room.

97. Nationally the size of households between 1650 and 1749 was between 4.5 and 4.7 people. Most consisted of a married couple and their children. Relatives living with them were rare¹⁴ but there is some evidence that in Swettenham rooms were let to or used by others. Thomas Dale, a millwright who was buried 1681 might have lodged rather than had his own house. His will refers to giving to Alice Doncaster, wife of Robert, the table and bedstead in the parlour of Robert's house and the bed 'wherein I do usually lye being in another Roame in the house of the said Robert Doncaster.' But he also had 'goods moveable

... at the dwelling of ... John Whittakers' at Hulme Walfield which he left to Margaret, who was his niece and John's wife, together with £4.

Swettenham Hall (map 36/18)

98. Pevsner describes the hall as dating from the 17th century¹⁵ but gives no other details of the hall at that time.¹⁶ However, it is possible to have an idea of the layout of the house based on the rooms mentioned in *An account of what goods Mr Swettenham takes to himselfe out of his Father's Inventory*.¹⁷



Figure 19. An extract from Hale's map showing Swettenham Hall. The Hall itself is drawn in plan to the right of The Slope. There are extensive stables, an orchard and other landscape features. It is possible that the Account has not listed all the dwelling rooms otherwise based simply on the number of rooms listed, the Hall would be no bigger than some of the other farm houses in the township, and Hale's map shows that clearly it is bigger. As it was a list of the goods Mr Swettenham was keeping for himself, and there is a note at the of the inventory stating 'All these goods must be put into rooms where there is not any goods exposed to sale' it is possible that there were other rooms, with furniture in them which was to be sold, and these therefore were not included in the inventory.

99. This lists the following rooms or buildings: Hay loft, granary, brick kill (kiln), chamber over the slaughter house, Mr Lockett's room, garrett over the kill, room over the

kill, kill, wool house, hen house, brewhouse, parlour, kitchen, hall, closed chamber, stair head, parlour chamber, women’s chamber, Mr Swettenham’s room.

100. It is clear that the hall was also a working farm with a granary, brick kiln, slaughter house, wool house (which contained a loom), and brewhouse. But the presence of 10s worth of gardeners’ tools indicates that there was also a garden for the enjoyment of Mr Swettenham, his family and guests. In addition, the inventory lists his plate and silver valued at £89 18s.

Swettenham Green House (map 19/36)

101. An indenture of 16th March 1702¹⁸ between Thomas Swettenham and William Davies of Smallwood, husbandman, describes Swettenham Greene House: ‘late in the possession of William Ridgeway, including that Bowling Alley or Greene near to the premises commonly called Swettenham Bowling Greene together with all profits and advantages arising from the Bowling alley.’ It was let furnished to Davies. The indenture gives an idea of the layout of the building (plates 13 & 14 page 63):

The house place	One long table, two forms
Parlour	One Arm Chair
Little parlour over the sellar	One long table
Brew house	One long dresser
The Long Room above stairs	One long Shuffle Board table
	Two long forms aside of the wall
	Two other forms of the other side marked TS

102. A summary and valuation of the estate of William Swettenham Esq in 1715¹⁹ includes a list of lands in lease and this includes Bowling Green House, let to Charles Ledward at £8 a year. This is the only one of the eighteen properties listed for Swettenham which does not have any land listed with it. Confusingly, there is then an inventory from 1721 for Walter Button, ale seller of Swettenham. This might have been The Swan (map 69/45 and plate 15 page 63), but this lay outside the parish boundary. The inventory lists a parlour chamber, stair head, garrett, chamber over the house, buttery chamber, kitchen, buttery, cellar, parlour, and house place and it seems clear from the contents of some of the rooms that this was an ale house:

Kitchen	Brewing pan and boiler, mashing tub and coolers
Buttery	Three dozen plates, seventeen pewter dishes, two spoons and a mustard pot
Cellar	Ale at £3. Eighteen barrels, a table and stoole
Parlour	Ten joint chairs, twelve back ones and two tables
House place	Five quarts four pints one half pint and a tankard. Six dozen bottles. Ten drinking glasses

103. In addition, the only animals listed in the inventory were a sow and pigs, valued at £1 10s. This suggests that there was no land associated with the building Walter Button occupied and this matches the description of Bowling Green House in 1715. If this was the case, the house had three tenants in nineteen years.

The Mill (map 43/32)²⁰

104. The earliest reference to a mill in Swettenham is in 1345.²¹ It is thought that the mill was built on its present site by Thomas Swettenham in 1675 - one of the beams bears the inscription 'TS 1675.' The mill is reputed to have burnt down and been rebuilt in 1765.²² This is supported by an indenture of 1765 for the lease of the mill and its accompanying inventory of the mill's contents, though the date of the inventory suggests that the fire and rebuilding must have been earlier.

105. The mill was owned by the Swettenham family and leased out. Land went with it which was described in the indenture of 1765. This included the lease of three closes and the Mill Clough and one parcel of Swettenham Hall tenement. Most of the leases with other tenants in the township required them to supply labour to keep the mill pond and dam in good repair.

106. An inventory of 18th March 1766²³ shows that the miller dressed his own stones. The mill had blue millstones, sometimes called "cullen" from their place of origin (Köln in Germany) which were imported because they were reckoned to provide a better quality of flour than local native millstones. There were also shulling millstones, made from millstone grit from Mow Cop to grind oats²⁴ and two pairs of hard corne millstones, probably French burr stones, which became the preferred option for grinding flour. A dusting sieve listed was for the preparation of oats.

107. The fact that two waterwheels are recorded indicates that four pairs of millstones were being used. The mill of 1765 was a three-storey building with a granary on the top floor, millstones on the first floor and the main gearing and waterwheel on the ground floor. This was a standard pattern from the middle of the 18th century.^{25 26}

The Church (map 21/36)

108. The churchwardens' accounts record amongst other things the money the parish spent on the church. Routine maintenance such as repairing or making bell wheels, repairing locks and replacing bell ropes went on almost constantly throughout the period. New bell ropes were bought every year. Such expenditure on ropes was not unusual as bell-ringing was a popular activity throughout the period, and the bells were used to celebrate events.²⁷

109. The first mention of more substantial repairs to the church is in 1663, when 10s 6d was spent on the church and steeple. Glass for the church is first mentioned in 1666 when 2s was spent. Thereafter it was spent in amounts varying between 8d and 2s in seventeen of the forty-nine years to 1715. In 1683 a pane of glass cost 6d. What is not clear is whether the cost recorded was for glass only, or included labour. The sums are not large, but the frequency with which glass was replaced suggests poor quality.

110. Lime appears not to have been available locally and had to be brought in, Macclesfield being one place of supply. Lime from Macclesfield and hair to go with it was used frequently throughout the period. This suggests a fairly constant need to repair the fabric of the church.

111. Also mentioned is the acquisition of moss and its use for 'mossing.' In 1672, 14s 8d was spent on moss and mossing. This is quite a large sum in comparison with what was being spent on the church each year. The moss itself would appear to have been quite cheap. Ralph Hooley was paid 6d for moss in 1680, four sacks cost 1s 4d in 1684, and one sack 4d in 1700 and 1715. In 1719 'moss for the slaters' was bought for 1s, amounting to two or three sacks. This association of the moss with slaters suggests it was used as part of the slating process.

112. In 1677 work was done on the steeple requiring lime, six sacks of mortar, timber, and hoops. As part of this work, coals were used, and 8s was spent 'colouring' the church. There were more repairs to the steeple in 1682, and in 1683 the roof needed attention. Slate was

brought in in 1685, 1688, 1689 and 1692. The slater was paid 5s 6d for four days work in 1692, suggesting a daily rate of around 1s 5d. In 1697 slaters wages were 15s 6d – the equivalent of eleven days work.²⁸ More slating was done in 1701, 1704, 1706, 1709, 1712, 1714 and 1715. In all, £10 10s 8d was spent on materials and workmen during this time.²⁹ The top of the steeple itself required pointing in 1685, and more repairs were made to it in 1687 and 1695.

113. In 1716 the parish register records that a meeting was held ‘to consult about the church.’ Another meeting was held in 1720 when it was decided the body of the church should be rebuilt in brick. Up to this point therefore the church must have been similar to Marton church with its timber frame and tower just over three miles away (plates 16, 17, 18, 19 & 20 pages 64 and 65). This work cost the parish £110, and at the same time a new pulpit was built for £10. This work possibly involved making bricks on the spot, as an oven is listed as one of the expenses, which also included workmen’s wages, scaffolding, and timber.

114. In 1721 it was agreed³⁰ that £140 should be raised towards the building of a new steeple. One hundred thousand bricks were purchased and sixty six horse loads of lime brought from Macclesfield. £70 6d was spent on materials, transport, meetings and expenses. In 1722 a further £67 9s 1d was paid to ‘Mr Whalley about the steeple’ but there is no indication of what Mr Whalley did for this considerable sum. The work had possibly not been completely finished by 1723, as in that year, 1s 8d was spent on two trips to Macclesfield ‘about stone for bell windows.’

115. But still the work continued: in 1739 seven horse loads of lime, timber and a waggon load of slate - £4 19s 4d, carpenters bill 10s and a slater £2 4s 6d, in 1742 5s 6d for ‘sodering lead on steeple,’ in 1743 17s 8d for ‘flag and leading,’ in 1748 repairs to the church and steeple £1 4s 6d, in 1749 £1 11s 3d for ‘repairs and expence at church steeple,’ in 1756 £3 17s 6d for ‘slaters bill and expenses’ and in 1764 repairing the church roof 10s 10d and repairs to the steeple £2 6s 9d.

116. Apart from the church itself, the stile, which had been repaired in 1682 for 2s 4d was rebuilt in stone in 1699 for £4 9s and had to be repaired in 1732 for £1 7s 4d.

117. In 1761 the accounts record that ‘The Church Rails being much out of Repair it is unanimously agreed .. that the said Rails be taken down and a brick wall capped with stones

be built in their stead .. the expence to be raised by a Lay though the parish.’ The work for this was recorded in as much detail as that for the church and steeple forty years earlier – twenty-six thousand seven hundred bricks for £6 6s 2d, three tuns (sic) of Newport Lime, twenty horse loads of lime from Macclesfield and nine cart loads of sand.³¹

118. The church was more than simply a place for worship. It was where people came together and therefore it could be a place where certain social strains within the community came to the fore such as disputes about who sat where in the church. Such disputes would not have been unusual, as where one sat was an indication of one’s social standing. Particular pews would be regarded as belonging to particular families, and attempts to change these arrangements could lead to problems.³² John Dale, yeoman, signed in the parish register in 1707 to say that he had obtained permission from Thomas Swettenham for his wife to sit ‘about the middle part of the forme or seate next above the forme or seat belonging to James Whittaker... near unto the pillar next below the pulpit on the south side of the church’ but this was only ‘at the will and pleasure of him the said Thomas Swettenham and I do hereby disclaim any right or title whatsoever to the said forme or seat.’ In 1709 Peter Lownds, yeoman, declared that ‘I, my family and tenants which live in my house in Kermincham have frequently saith in a seat or forme on the bottom or lower end of the south isle in Swettenham Church which seat I owne to belong to Thomas Swettenham Esq. and I do hereby acknowledge that mine familys and tenants using or sitting in the same is by his leave and licence only and not of any right.’

119. The churchwardens’ accounts record 1s 6d being spent in 1716 for ‘Treat upon Peover singers’ and in 1717 ‘spent on the singers several times 9s.’ The fact that there is no other reference in the churchwardens’ accounts to paying singers and musicians, suggests that possibly this practice had not yet reached Swettenham, and ‘lining out’ continued to be the practice.³³ The first reference to musical instruments is 1781, when a base viol was bought for £1 3s 9d.

Churchwardens

120. The response from Swettenham to the Enquiry sent out by the Archdeaonry of Richmond to Churchwardens in around 1722³⁴ was that there were two churchwardens for the parish, one for Swettenham and one for Kermincham. The Swettenham warden was chosen by the rector, and Kermincham chose their own. The rector chose the clerk and paid

him £1 a year, with another 10s being paid by the parish. This return also confirmed that there was no school within the parish.³⁵

121. Churchwardens were the important lay officials of a parish, concerned with the maintenance of the church, poor relief, highway maintenance, dealing with vagabonds, and controlling vermin.³⁶ Although not meant to happen, the practice of getting someone else to undertake what could be regarded as an inconvenient duty was not unknown.³⁷

122. At the start of the period there were three offices for each township – churchwarden, overseer of the poor and overseer of the highways. The holders of these offices were recorded in the parish records each year when the officers were chosen and the accounts of the previous year's officers were appraised. In the parish the office of overseer of the highways had fallen out of use by 1699.

123. Only on one occasion, in 1680, did a woman fill one of the posts, when Jane Vawdrey was elected overseer of the highway for Swettenham. There seems to have been a practice of an individual holding one office one year, and then one of the others the next. But over the course of a few years, a reasonable number of different individuals served in one of the offices. From the beginning of the period it was not uncommon for individuals to have undertaken the task on behalf of the person who should have done it. For example the entries for 1691 record Randle Sharman for his house, Samuel Ryle for Snelson's house, Joseph Ryle for Gibson's house and Randle Vaudry for Mr Berkenheads house.

124. From the 1720s however, the same names begin to appear more often. Thus, for Kermincham Thomas Crowder was churchwarden in 1729, both churchwarden and overseer of the poor in 1730 and remained as churchwarden the following year. Joseph Taylor held both offices in 1733 and remained as churchwarden in 1734. Joseph Simpson held one of the two offices for Kermincham in 1740, 1741, 1750, 1753, 1754 and 1755. Thomas Stones did likewise for Swettenham in 1748 and 1752 and held both offices in each of the four years between 1757 and 1760. Whether this indicated a difficulty in finding individuals prepared to take on the work, a diminishing in the importance or need for the work, or the fact that these individuals, and others like them, enjoyed the work and volunteered themselves for it, cannot be ascertained.

125. It is also noticeable that whilst at the beginning of the period the number of appraisers for the churchwarden's accounts was usually between five and seven and included the rector, Thomas Swettenham and often Roger Manwaring, by the start of the eighteenth century, it was becoming increasingly rare for a member of the Swettenham or Manwaring families to sign the accounts. By the 1730s the number of appraisers was down to three or four and by the 1750s it sometimes dropped to just two, one of whom was the rector.

126. Briefs³⁸ are recorded for the period 1678 to 1709. The type of entries in the Swettenham records are typical of these collections. Often the entry makes no reference to the specific reason for the collection, simply that it was 'for the town of Colompton in Devon (3s 9d) or 'for Yalding in Kent' (4s 6d). Frequently though it was for some damage caused by fire, or rebuilding of churches: '23rd and 24th February 1699 for loss by fire in Drury Lane in Middlesex 3s 11d' '20th April 1707 for a loss by fire at Towcester 3s.' The briefs were for places across England and Wales, but also 'destroyed churches in Lesser Poland' for which 3s 10d was collected in 1682 and 'the protestant church at Oberbarmen' for which 4s 6d was raised in 1708.

127. Tate quotes the collections in Norton le Moors (Staffs) in 1678 when 4s 8d was collected for the building of St Pauls Church in London and 3s 11d for Uffington in Lincolnshire.³⁹ Swettenham collected 18s 8d and 4s 6d for the same two briefs.

128. Some of the larger collections were for places nearby - 16s 1d for Chester Cathedral in 1701, 16s for Congleton in 1702. But the largest collections were for those connected to direct human suffering, in particular persecuted protestants. In 1680 '£1 11s 5d for the redemption of captives on the coast of Africa,' in 1681 19s 1d 'for the French protestants persecuted,' in 1689 £3 17s 'for the protestants fled into England' and 1704 16s 'for the refugees of the principality of Orange.' There was probably no problem finding money for the protestants as John Shaw had declared in 1706 in the Declaration of Papists that 'there is not any papist or reputed papist that lives or has any estate in my parish.'⁴⁰

129. There are records of payments to travellers in nineteen of the sixty years between 1670 and 1730. The amount varied from 6d to a poor man with a pass to 3s to travellers. The description varies – travellers, passengers, vagrants, persons in distress, poor men. There are no references in the records to poor relief within the parish, though there must have been poor

as various bequests for the poor of the parish are mentioned in wills at various times⁴¹ and listed in the response to the Archdeaconry's Enquiry of around 1722.⁴²

Family Relationships

130. Not surprisingly, most wills refer to property and legacies being left to spouses, sons and daughters, other relatives and friends. It is clear though that the person making the will had given some thought to how things might develop after his or her death, and what effect this might have on the family's future. The various options were considered and reflected in the terms of wills. Richard Dudley of Kermincham in his will of 1683 stated that if his sister Hannah had a son within six years of his death, £30 was to go to renew the lease at Kermincham. But if it was a daughter, the £30 was to be used for her advancement. If Hannah had no children, the £30 went equally to the children of Richard's brother and sister, Thomas and Sarah. Sarah's eldest son was to have use of the tenement, but if she had no son, it was to go to the use of Thomas's eldest son. Whatever happened, the tenement was to remain in the family.

131. It seems that relationships were not always straightforward and amicable. Parnil Crowder left everything to her daughter and her daughter's children, to be managed by her executors 'soe that Joseph Hickson my Son in law shall have noe power of my money Goods Cattel Chattels.' Jonathan Richardson was perhaps anticipating problems when he concluded his will in 1746 with the instruction that if any of the legatees quarrelled with the executors, 'he or she shall be cut off with five shillings.' He left a legacy of £28 for the sole use of his daughter Anne and her children and one of just 1s for his son-in-law. Another daughter received a legacy for a similar amount, whilst her husband received 1s. Each of his grandchildren received £15 towards clothing and learning.

132. Anne Lockett's will was made less than six months before her death in 1688 and she took considerable care to ensure her relatives were looked after. Her three nephews received between £10 and £30. Her niece, Ellin Walley had died, but Ellin's husband Ralph owed Anne £40. This was to be received by Anne's executors and used for Ellin's children. Anne was not prepared to let Ralph retain the £40 himself, presumably believing his children would not benefit from it in the same way as they would if her executors used it for the children's express benefit.

133. Another niece of Anne's nieces, Mary Brook, was to receive annually the interest from £30 and 'if she be in want' to receive as much of the £30 as her executors thought appropriate. If any money remained after her death, it was to be used for the benefit of her children. Mary's husband William received just 5s 'in full of all he can or may claim of or from any part of my estate.' As an indication of how much 5s was worth to William, Anne also left the same sum to an Anne Stubbs 'to buy her a paire of gloves,' and Anne's servant was to receive £3. A possible indication that relations between Anne and William had not been good.

134. It was not unusual for a wife to be left the estate for the remainder of her life, and then for it to pass to the children, but care was taken to ensure that if the widow did remarry, her new husband, or his children did not benefit. John Fysher, in his will of 1689 left his wife one bed and its furniture, one chest and six pewter dishes. His son was requested to allow his mother to have houseroom and fireroom and one part of the garden during her life provided she did not re-marry. Another John Fisher, in his will of 1700 left his wife the estate for the rest of her life after which it was to be divided between their children, John and Mary. The tenement would go to John, whereupon he was required to pay his sister £20.

135. Randle Kennerley, in his will of 1689 left his tenement to his wife, but if she were to marry, she would have 'but 20s a year' and was to 'quietly leave the tenement without any further title thereunto.' After her death, his son was to have the tenement and pay legacies of between £3 and £4 to his three sisters, and his father's grandson. If he refused to do this, his executors were to enter the premises. The implication being that Randle was not confident that he could rely on his son to look after his daughters.

136. Similarly, William Snelson in his will of 1711 stated that his wife was to remain in the house, 'except the workhouse and chamber over it together with any intacts crofts closes inclosures or parcels of ground' belonging to his tenement and have 'free liberty to the common of pasture and turbary on Swettenham Heath.' The workhouse and chamber went to his son who was to get all the property and land after his mother's death. He was then to pay his four siblings - a brother and three unmarried sisters - £3 each within two years and three months of him taking on the premises. If he refused to do this, the executors were to enter the tenement to raise the money.

137. William Arrowsmith in his will of 1725 left £85 to his granddaughter Anne 'paid unto her own hand and not unto the hands of her husband .. or any other husband she may hereafter marry .. for the bringing up of her children.' William also showed concern about the conduct of a grandson who it seems had not been leading an entirely respectable life up to that point. The grandson was to get his late father's chest and interest from £85, to be administered by the executors, but 'in case he shall reforme his life and conversation whereby he becomes good' the executors could at their discretion, pay him the full £85.

138. Joseph Taylor in his will of 1739 left his wife the end of the house 'wherein we now live .. and that part of the garden at the end of the house .. and two roods of ground near the house and muck for it and the garden.' His son was to get 20s a year, the bed and all its furniture over the house, the screen, brass scales and weights and 'If he pleases he shall have house room with my wife but not to let it.' The second son was to get the clock and a bed and 5s a year 'and if he falls out with his brothers .. he shall have but won (sic) shilling and no more.' 20s a year was given to the children of his third son 'to bring them to school.' It seems that the three brothers did not necessarily get on well together, for Joseph ends his will by saying that he 'earnestly desire them to live pesable with God in brotherly love won withe another .. as long as hit please god to continue me in this wourld with sense and reson I will pray for my children.'

Widows

139. Alice Lee, who died in 1681 was described as 'widow' on her inventory. Her clothes and goods came to 3s and the money owed to her came to £18, comprising debts from twelve different people for small amounts of between £1 and £3, including debts from two women, Ellen Dudley and Anne Malbone.

140. Another widow, Eleanor Kennerley, might be considered not as badly off as Alice Lee. In her inventory dated February 1671 she had six sheep, 14s worth of brass, three pairs of bedstocks, two fliches of bacon, some corn and hay. She may also have been earning an income of some kind, as she also had her spinning wheel and cards, woollen cloth and yarn and tow and linen yarn.

141. Mary Davies, widow, wife of William Davies was buried on 11th October, 1729. William Davies was described as from Lower Withington and a William Davies of Lower

Withington had been buried at Swettenham on 2nd April, 1717 meaning Mary had been a widow for twelve years at the time of her death. The total value of her inventory was £66 8s 4d of which £62 was money owed to her. Of the remainder, she appears comfortably off, with amongst other things, a feather bed, pillows, blankets, two brass kettles, a chair and six stools, four cushions, a coffer, a dishboard, and twelve pewter spoons.

142. The extent to which a widow would benefit from being left her husband’s property is debatable. Ursula Dudley’s husband Thomas, a yeoman of Kermincham, died in 1714. He left everything to Ursula, with the exception of some sums of money for various people, including his servant maid. He had livestock worth £22 and crops valued at £13 5s. In total, the value of the goods in his inventory came to £179 3s, which made him one of the wealthier farmers. He lived in a five-roomed house:

Lower parlour	a pair of bedstocks, a coffer
Chamber over the lower parlour	rye, three flaskets, panniers, salting turnill, coopery ware, barley, two wheels, sacks, winnow sheets, sieves, yarn
Chamber over the house	two pair of bedstocks, a coffer, six chairs, a voidyer, a table, a looking glass
Cheese chamber	£8 worth of cheese, a bed, four coffers and boxes, two stools, cushions, a warming pan, linin
Dwelling house	all the brass and pewter, a pot, a clock, iron ware, table and form, chairs, stools and cushions, a gun, a dozen bottles.

143. He had a looking glass, a clock and case, and a gun, though the gun cannot have been fancy, as it is listed with a salt coffer and another item totalling 4s, whereas a gun valued around the same time (Jonathan Yearwood’s inventory of 1709) was worth 15s.

144. Ursula made her will four years after her husband died and lived on for a further three years. The inventory mentions little except what she had specified in her will: the bed and furniture £2 10s, a brass pot 12s, a woman’s gown and petticoat and a wool hat 15s, a horse £4 and cows £8 (which would have been about three cows, given the values of that time). In comparison, her husband had owned six cows, one twinter, a calf, a mare and twelve sheep. Ursula had disposed of all the furniture – sold off, or given away, including the looking glass and clock, together with virtually all the livestock and husbandryware. Her will refers to her nephew giving her a bond to maintain her with meat, drink and clothing and all other

necessaries during her natural life, and in consideration of this, she gives him all her goods and money owed to her, except a serge gown and petticoate which she left to her maid servant, the bed and bedding in the chamber over the parlour, the largest brass pot but one and her best hat. Ursula had maintained a servant, but not the way of life she had lived while she had been married. Whether this was a decision on her part, or forced on her by circumstances cannot be ascertained.

145. Another example of widows living on with relatives is Mary Nixon who, in her will dated 1740, left sums of 1s to her two sons-in-law Samuel Henshaw and John Bailey and to her grandson John Henshaw (Samuel's son), £60 and 'the red and white bed' and 'the coffer that he now useth and the linen therein contained.' One of her sons-in law, Samuel Henshaw owed her £38 6s. £20 of this debt she bequeathed to her grand-daughter Mary Henshaw – the daughter of Samuel, so that the father now owed the daughter. Mary was also given the red bed, the bedding and blankets and a red rug, which were at Samuel's. This, and the fact that John Henshaw was already using the coffer left to him, suggests that Mary was living with Samuel's family.

146. On the other hand, John Bostock who died in 1749, left the lease of his tenement to his wife Mary 'provided my said wife shall keep her self in my name and unmarried.' If she were to marry, the executors were to 'pay her the sume of one shilling in full of her share or proportion and .. my said executors shall divide my said goods and personal estate amongst all my children in equal proportions share and share alike.' In 1766, Mary signed an indenture renewing an existing one with Thomas Swettenham so it seems she had been able to farm the tenement for seventeen years after her husband's death, and planned to continue doing so.

Wealth

147. There were considerable extremes of wealth within the township, in some cases by a factor of over forty. Hugh Vawdry of Swettenham, a yeoman, whose inventory was taken in October 1672 was a poor man. The total value of his goods was £9 10s 4d - a single cow worth £2 10s, two coffers, three little tables, a cupboard, three beds, three old chairs, some stools, two brass pots, two skellits, a ladle, an old pan, a little pan and some burslem ware. William Leigh, a labourer, died in 1685. His inventory consisted of two lines: wearing apparell and money in his pocket 10s 4d, and one bond by sperialtie⁴³ £11 10s.

148. Randle Kennerley, blacksmith, died in 1689. The value of his inventory was £9 16s. He had little furniture – a bed, two coffers, a table, dishboard, chair, two brass pots, a skillet and a ladle, a pewter dish, saucer and six spoons, wooden ware, iron ware and burslem ware. Also a barren heifer and an in-calfe cow and some corn and hay. It is possible he may have disposed of some of his property before his death. His will is dated 3rd February 1689, just nineteen days before his inventory was drawn up, and in his will he listed legacies totalling £13 for his four children. William Snelson's inventory of 1726 came to £14 17s, but again, he appeared not too badly off; a cow, four ewes and five lambs, three bedstocks, a feather bed, three feather bolsters. Two others with inventories of low value were Peter Lownds (1727) £29 14s 4d, and Robert Whitney (1732) £26 4s 5d. In contrast, William Sharman's inventory of 1660 was valued at £390 2s 2d and Anne Lockett's of 1688 at £394 3s 8d.

Lending and Borrowing

149. Twenty-five inventories listed money owed to the deceased. It was not always the case that it was only the better-off who had money to lend. Eleanor Kennerley was owed £3 17s 11d out of an inventory total of £21 11d, Elizabeth Hulse was owed £5 13s out of £14 4s, Mary Broadhurst £27 16s out of £29 16s, William Leigh £11 10s out of £12 4d and Mary Gravenor £11 4d out of £22 5s 11d. It is perhaps not surprising that four out of five were women, as lending out money was a way widows could secure an income by using money left by their deceased husband, or raised from the sale of his goods.

150. Amounts lent ranged from 3s, to £212, though many were for just a few pounds, and most under £50. For every lender there must have been a borrower, but money owed tended not to be recorded, though wills included a preamble about the deceased's debts being one of the first things to be settled before any legacies were paid. It is possible some families may have been more involved in money-lending than others – William Sharman's inventory of 1660 lists twenty-seven debts owed to him totalling £427, and Edward Sharman's inventory of 1662 lists two debts totalling £61 14s 6d. There was of course nowhere for this money to be kept but at home, and Anne Lockett's inventory illustrates this. She was one of the larger lenders in the parish, being owed just over £220 at the time of her death in 1687, and stored away in a coffer she had £104 12s 6d in ready money.

Literacy

151. In several of the wills there are references to money being left for children’s learning or education. It is not clear how this learning was to be achieved, as the response to the Archdeaconry’s Enquiry of around 1722⁴⁴ recorded that there was no school. An analysis of signatures on wills, inventories, churchwarden’s accounts and, from 1754, the marriage register, shows a gradual increase in literacy (Figure 20).

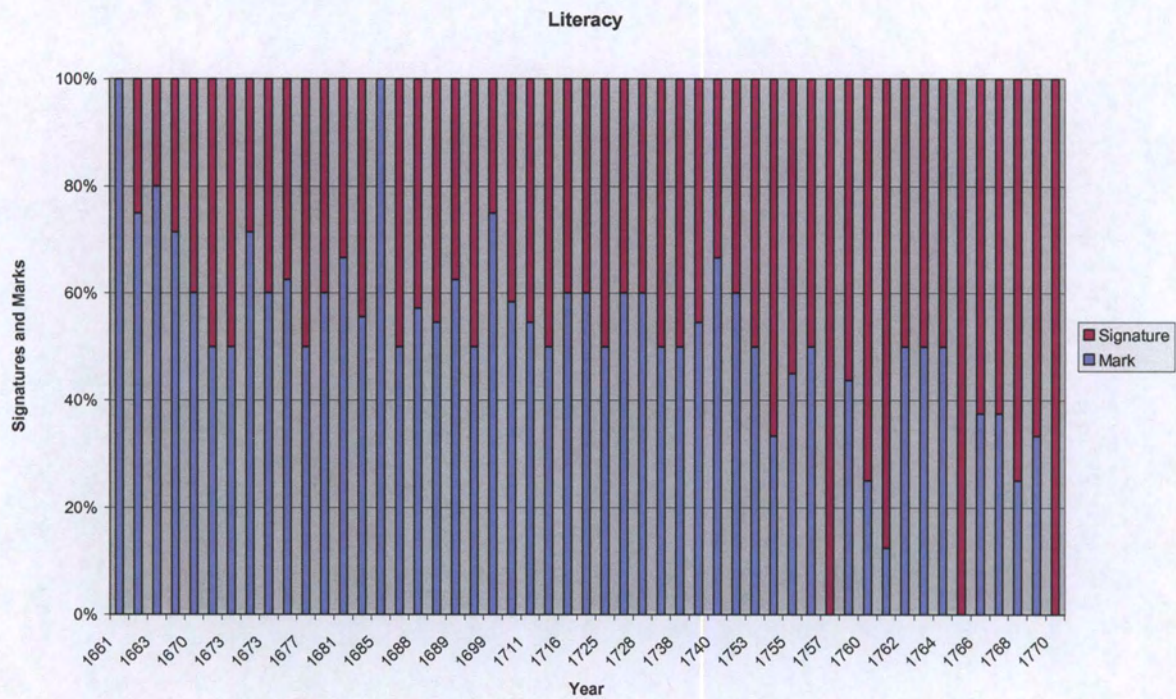


Figure 20. Evidence of literacy based on ability to sign one’s name. In nearly all cases involving wills, the person making the will could not sign their name but most of the witnesses or appraisers could, suggesting those asked to undertake these tasks were selected from the better educated in the community.

152. In north east Cheshire, between 1651 and 1700, from a sample of eighty names, the split of signatures and marks was roughly equal. Between 1701 and 1760 from forty-three names, 88% signed.⁴⁵ However, the question does arise of the extent to which a signature could be an indication of literacy, or how much it was a case that the individual had learned to make the shapes of the letters that made up their name. John Johnson’s signature on an inventory is an example (Figure 21). An inability to sign one’s name might also be because the person was too ill, used a mark as shorthand, or only learned to write later in life.⁴⁶

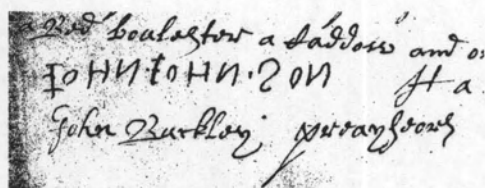


Figure 21. John Johnson's signature – could he write, or was he simply making a series of shapes on the paper?

Contact outside the township

153. Contact with people from outside the township could be in the form of outsiders coming in, or people from the parish going out. There are a number of indentures which indicate that people from outside the township farmed within it. Thomas Swettenham's tenants came from Adlington, Congleton, Hulme Walfield, Lower Withington, Marton, Siddington, Smallwood, and Somerford Booths.⁴⁷ It is equally likely that people from Swettenham also leased or owned land in other parishes. Gawsworth, Little Halsall, Marton, Sandbach, Smallwood and Withington were places mentioned in wills and inventories where Swettenham people owned or leased land. William Swettenham had land not only in Swettenham, but also Kermincham, Twemlow, Birtles, Macclesfield, Cranage and Astle.⁴⁸

154. Noting the places named in the records of burials, baptisms and marriages, and in wills and inventories enables a picture to be drawn up of the extent to which there was contact outside the parish and how far this extended (Figure 22).

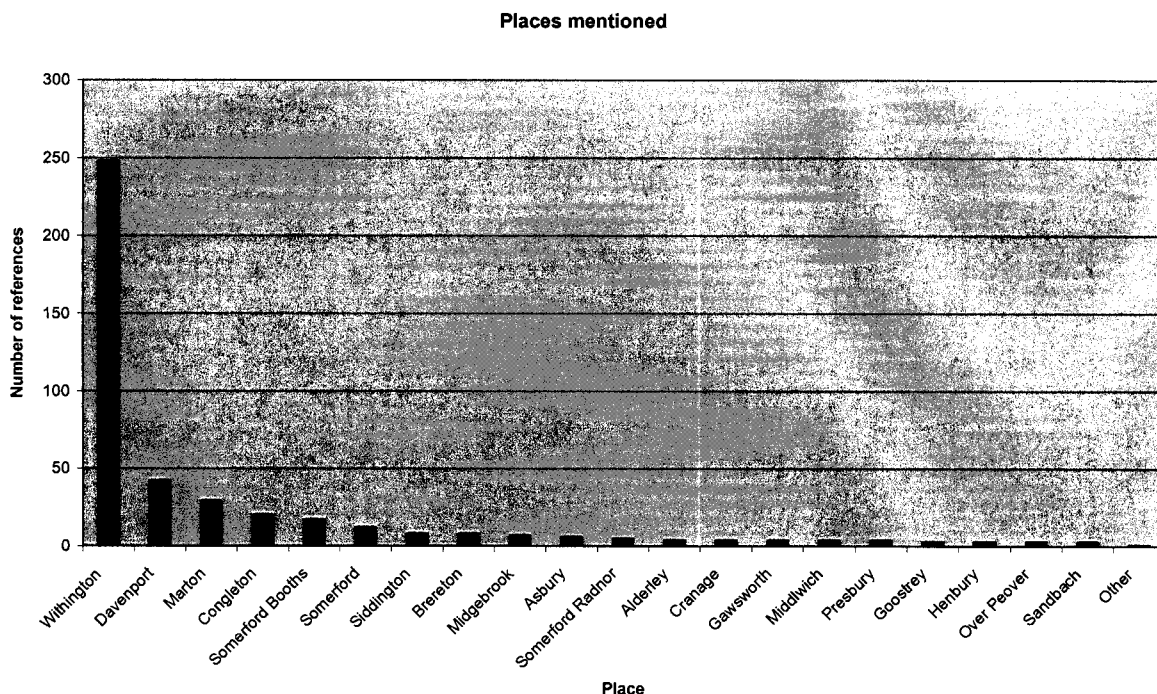


Figure 22. There are single references to London, Manchester and Liverpool, but the majority of contact outside the parish was with the neighbouring areas of Withington, Davenport, Marton, Congleton and Somerford. Nearly all the parish's contacts were within a three-mile radius of Swettenham.

Some Individuals

155. Reference has already been made to the difficulties John Dale and Peter Lownds seem to have had because of where they sat in church. Occasional references such as these in wills or the parish records are a reminder that the people who have been mentioned in this work were individuals with their own personalities and idiosyncrasies. Other such isolated examples include Peter Lounds who at the time of his death in 1727 had ‘an old blind horse’ worth 10s, Jonathan Richardson who left his daughter Ester ‘one cow called Lady’ in his will of 1746, John Shaw, the rector whose inventory in 1715 records had ‘an horse (his eyes being Dim),’ Thomas Whittakers, yeoman, who in his will of 1730 left his wife ‘The best bed with all its furniture, the best cow ..’ and Roger Manwaring who decreed in his will that after his death he was to be ‘decently interred at midnight (without the formality of bearers) .. nobody shall be invited to my funeral Except my Tenants to assist in laying my body in the Grave to whom I would have gloves given.’

156. Thomas Swettenham included in his tenants’ leases the requirement that they must keep a dog if required, sometimes specifying that this should be a spaniel or beagle,

sometimes a hound or greyhound.⁴⁹ It seems it was also a standard condition of these leases that someone from the tenant's family should attend the annual sermon given in honour of Lawrence Swettenham who had left money for the poor, with a fine of 12d if no one came. There was also a fine of 6d if a hen was not provided at Christmas.

157. These isolated examples illustrate the fact that in attempting to look at the everyday lives of individuals in the township is that records have survived only by chance, so a study of particular individuals or families over a period of time has been difficult. This chapter concludes with two studies where the availability of records has, to an extent, allowed such a study to be made.

Two Rectors: Thomas Addenbrooke and John Shaw

158. Swettenham was served by five rectors during the period under consideration - Thomas Addenbrooke who came to the living in 1659, John Shaw who succeeded him in 1677, Joseph Harwar in 1716, James Harwar in 1722, and John Gleave in 1735. Wills survive only for Addenbrooke and Shaw.

159. Addenbrooke died in 1677 and his will is short: he left two thirds of his possessions to his wife and the remainder to be divided equally amongst his children. His executors were his wife Ellen, Roger Manwaring and Thomas Swettenham. The value of his goods came to £109 12s 10d. Amongst his possessions were a musket, sword, bolt, bandoliers, knapsacks, and a fowling piece.

160. In contrast, much of John Shaw's will is taken up with explaining how he had fulfilled the terms of his marriage settlement by reference to two pieces of land he had bought recently in Leek. The will also refers to him and his son recently selling land in Smallwood for £170 10s. His sole executrix was his wife, but he was able to call upon the mayor of Macclesfield to look after a legacy of £5 for his sister-in-law. Shaw became rector in 1677, but he did not marry until 1684, and then it was to Hannah Bateman who came from Leek. Her father John is described in the parish register as 'Gent.'

161. Addenbrooke and Shaw both farmed to an extent, as the following extracts from their respective inventories indicate:

Thomas Addenbrooke

Husbandryware for ploughs and carts	£4	3s	4d
manure	£2		
Rye thrashed	£1		
Oats and barley thrashed	£1	19s	
Barley unthrashed	£1	13s	4d
Hay and straw		3s	
Poultry	£1		
Rye growing upon the ground	£4		
Total	£15	18s	8d

John Shaw

Corn in the barn	£20
Hay	£4
Four milk cows	£10
Total	£34

162. The names used in the two inventories for the rooms in the rectory are not the same,⁵⁰ so it is not possible to see how the contents of each room, and the value of these contents had changed. In any case, the Glebe Terrier of 1697 explains that ‘About 20 years ago there were 18 Bays, but .. 13 small Bays were pulled down and 8 large Bays built new in their stead which with 5 old Bays making just 13.’ This change in the layout of the rectory would have been around the time that John Shaw succeeded Thomas Addenbrooke but it is possible the changes had been made by then for Addenbrooke’s inventory of 4th July 1677 refers to ‘one bed and bedstock in the new chamber.’

163. Although a direct comparison of the rooms is not possible, it is interesting to note that whilst Addenbrooke’s inventory in 1677 simply uses the everyday descriptions of rooms - the next parlour, the further parlour, the chamber over the great parlour, and so on, by the time of Shaw’s inventory of 1715, reference is made to ‘his study’ ‘the best chamber’ ‘the Little Green Chamber’ and the deceased’s ‘Lodging room.’ In addition, there is a cellar and a brewhouse and ‘the kitchen’ is listed as a separate room. Whilst the rectory at the time of Addenbrooke’s death comprised nine rooms, by the time of Shaw’s death thirty-eight years later there were sixteen rooms.

164. Because Shaw’s inventory simply lists the total value of the contents of each room, rather than itemising each item, it is not possible to compare his possessions with those of Addenbrooke. However, although the total value of Shaw’s inventory was £432 7s 3d, over £340 of this was made up of debts owed to him, giving a value of £90 for all his other possessions. Addenbrooke was owed debts of £40 6s, giving a value of £63 12 10d to his goods, so despite the apparent improvements since Addenbrooke’s time in terms of changes in the size of the rectory, the layout of the rooms and the refinements implied in the names of rooms, Shaw’s position may not have been that much improved on Addenbrooke’s. It is tempting to read into these details evidence of different personalities – Addenbrooke out

hunting with his fowling piece, owing money to his parishioners⁵¹ and still retaining his musket and sword, and Shaw, married to a gentleman’s daughter, buying and selling land and living a more refined life in his study and Little Green Chamber.

165. Three sons of Thomas Addenbrooke are recorded as being baptised, in 1662, 1664 and 1668. The eldest was therefore fifteen and the youngest nine when their father died. There is no record of the subsequent burial of Thomas’s wife, or the burial or marriage of any of the sons. Upon the death of their father they would have had to move out of the rectory and possibly left the parish. John and Hannah Shaw had a son, Richard, who was baptised in 1686 and a daughter Hannah, baptised in 1688. Hannah died in 1709, but it is possible Richard followed his father into the church, as a Reverend Richard Shaw of Congleton was buried at Swettenham in 1753.

The Lockett Family

166. Jeffrey Lockett was a yeoman in Swettenham who died in 1661. He left his possessions to his nephew and other relatives. His wife Anne had the farm and its implements for the rest of her life, after which they passed to the nephew Jeffrey. The total value of his inventory was £108 16s 8d, of which £41 10s was money owed to him. He appears to have been reasonably well off by local standards.

167. Anne died in 1688, twenty-seven years after her husband. At the time of her death, the property comprised a lower parlour, little parlour below the entry, high chamber over the high parlour, higher parlour, dwelling house, butteries, cart house and oven house. She had clearly kept on farming, and had maintained the level of activity of her husband, as the comparison below indicates:

Jeffrey Lockett – from his inventory 1661				Anne Lockett – from her inventory 1688			
5 kine, 1 heiffer, 1 calf,	£18			14 old sheep, 16 lambs	£4	13s	4d
2 horses, 1 colt	£6	16s	9d	4 cows, 2 suckling calves, 1			
sheep, 2 swine	£3		8d	heifer in calf	£14		
				1 nag	£5	9s	
				2 pigs	£1	11s	
				geese, goslings & other poultry		3s	4d
	Total	£27	17s 5d		Total	£25	16s 8d
Corn and hay	£13			Corn in the barn	£4		
				Corn in the field	£5		
				Winnowed corn	£2		
				15 measures of malt	£1	13s	9d
	Total	£13			Total	£12	13s 9d
							58

168. Moreover, compared to the value of Jeffrey's inventory (£108 16s 8d), Anne's stood at £394 3s 8d. £220 of this was in debts owed to her, leaving a value of £174 for her possessions and furniture. Anne's will also refers to two servants and makes it clear that the male servant was one of her nephews, William Brownsword, to whom she left £30.

169. In 1679 Jeffrey Lockett, (presumably the nephew referred to in paragraph 167), married Catherine, daughter of Edward Tompson who had bought Clonterbrook from the Davenport family. The Tompson's were already in the better-off section of society - Edward's step-mother, in her will of 1663 was able to leave £6 to her servant man, £4 to her servant maid, £5 to the poor of Swettenham and £5 to Edward's daughter Catherine. Edward in turn left Clonterbrook to Catherine, who was to pay his other child Ellen £150 when she reached twenty-one years of age.

170. Edward's inventory is very badly damaged so it is not possible to determine the extent of his wealth. However, the rooms in the house are listed: Entry, Parlour, Little parlour, High chamber, Chamber over the little parlour, High chamber over the dwelling house, High chamber over the great parlour.

171. By the time of Jeffrey Lockett's death in 1699, the house appears to have been divided in two. Jeffrey's inventory refers to the west and east ends of the dwelling house. There was now also a servant's chamber, a buttery, bake house and cheese chamber. However, the value of Jeffrey's inventory was £78 14 10s and a separate document dated 1701 lists all the debts her husband had owed and which Catherine had now paid. These came to over £166 which meant she had paid out £78 more than her husband had left her. Despite this, she lived on in Swettenham for another thirty-six years and was eighty-one when she died in 1737.

172. The marriage of Jeffrey and Catherine is not recorded in the parish register, nor is there any record of any children. However, it is reasonable to assume that yet another Jeffrey Lockett, who died in 1738, was their son, as his inventory refers to the house 'as it is now divided' echoing the description of the house in terms of the west end and the east end. One part of the house is referred to as the Widow's House, possibly that occupied by Catherine in the thirty-six years of her widowhood.

173. The inventories of Jeffrey Lockett who died in 1699 and Jeffrey Lockett who died in 1738 allow a comparison of the rooms in Clonterbrook to be made:

1699	1738
Bakehouse	Kitchen
End of the dwelling house westward	Widows House
Buttery	Buttery
End of the dwelling house eastward	Dining room
Chamber over the end of the dwelling house eastward	Chamber over the dining room
Chamber over that end of the dwelling house westward	Chamber over the widow's house place
Servants chamber	Garrett at the Widow's End
Chamber over the parlour	Garrett in the Better End
Old house	Chamber over the parlour
Parlour	Chamber over the house
	Parlour
	House place
Passage up the stairs	
Chamber over the buttery	

174. There is no way of knowing if this matching of the rooms is accurate, though the number of rooms listed is the same. By 1738 the kitchen was identified as a separate room. However, everything listed in it was to do with the production of cheese. All the kitchen implements are shown as being in the Widow's House. One of the rooms was now classed as the dinning room and had in it an oval table. Jeffrey Lockett in 1699 had a clock valued at £3 and a looking glass worth 10s. A clock is listed 'in the widows house' in the inventory of 1738. This is included with a dresser, the total value being £2 2s and there is a looking glass valued with one chair at 10s. Jeffrey Lockett in 1738 had a desk and box, one silver cup and three silver spoons, but apart from these items there is not a great deal of difference between the two in terms of the furniture. Where there was a difference, was in the fact that whereas Jeffrey had owed over £166, Jeffrey in 1738 was owed £120.

175. Jeffrey in his will of 1738 left the house and lands in Swettenham to his son Jeffrey, who was to pay his sister Mary £200. A tenement in Marton leased to Joseph Gallimore also went to Jeffrey. Rent from this land was to be paid to Mary until she had received a total of £100 and there was a requirement for Jeffery to present accounts annually to Mary. Was this so that she could see she was not being cheated of the money?

176. Mary was also left all the goods in the house 'as it now divided,' except a bed 'which was her fathers' and some other goods which went to Jeffrey's wife for the length of her

widowhood. The rest of the household goods and husbandryware was to go to Jeffery including 'my canes and my silver cup.' Mary was to live in the end of the house 'as it is now divided' for so long as she remained unmarried.

177. Finally, there was yet a fourth Jeffrey Lockett for whom there is just his will dated 1753. The will of Jeffrey who died in 1738 referred to a tenement in Marton leased to Joseph Gallimore. This tenement still appeared to be in the family, but was now let to a Thomas Barker. In fact the will of 1753 makes it clear that Jeffrey leased the land from Davies Davenport,⁵² and so he was sub-letting it to Thomas Barker. There was now also reference to land owned in Lower Withington and a tenement in Gawsworth. The Lower Withington land was to be sold to Jeffrey's son William for £500, or if he would not buy it, to whoever would, and the money given to Jeffrey's three daughters, who were also to get the Gawsworth tenement.

178. Jeffrey's wife was to have two cows, housekeeping goods and the furniture of a room at the discretion of the executors during her widowhood, together with £20 a year paid from the rent from the land in Swettenham and Marton. The division of the house first referred to in 1699 appears to be still in place as Jeffrey's wife was to live in the 'east end, or part of the house where I now live' unless she married. If she married, she would get only the £20; the goods would go to the daughters, and William would have use of the east end of the house. (In a codicil dated 27th August 1754, Jeffrey made it clear that the £20 a year for his wife was to come from the Marton estate only, and that she was not to get any cows).

¹ E Mercer, *English Vernacular Houses* (London, 1975), p.130

² M.W Barley (Ed), *The Buildings of the Countryside 1500-1750* (Cambridge, 1990), p.39

³ Barley, *The Buildings of the Countryside 1500-1750*, p.82

⁴ Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32/7. This is building F shown on the settlement map on page 13

⁵ Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32/7

⁶ H Holland, *General View of the Agriculture of Cheshire* (London, 1808), pp.83-86

⁷ A Tinniswood, *Life in the English Country Cottage* (London, 1995), p.83

⁸ Groves, *Piggins, Husslements and Desperate Debts*, p.9

⁹ R.W. Brunskill, *Houses & Cottages of Britain: Origins & Development of Traditional Buildings* (London, 2000), p.51

¹⁰ Brunskill, *Houses & Cottages of Britain*, pp.200-202

¹¹ Though it is not always possible to say whether a bed in an upper chamber was being used or stored

¹² Groves, *Piggins, Husslements and Desperate Debts*, p.59

¹³ Holland, *General View of the Agriculture of Cheshire*, p.85

¹⁴ Hinde, *England's Population – A History since the Domesday Survey*, p117

¹⁵ N Pevsner & E Hubbard, *The Buildings of England: Cheshire*, (London, 2003), p.348

¹⁶ Assignments in 'Swettenham Box 68' in the Bromley Davenport Muniments in the John Rylands University Library refer to Swettenham Hall in the mid-sixteenth century. Whether this was an earlier version of the hall on the same site, or an older hall which stood elsewhere cannot be said.

- ¹⁷ Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32/5
- ¹⁸ Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32/7
- ¹⁹ Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32
- ²⁰ Personal communication – Mr Tony Bonson. I am very grateful to Mr Bonson, author of *Driven by the Dane: Nine Centuries of Waterpower in South Cheshire and North Staffordshire* for interpreting the items listed in the mill inventory and providing the information in paragraphs 106 and 107.
- ²¹ T Bonson, *Driven by the Dane: Nine Centuries of Waterpower in South Cheshire and North Staffordshire*, (Congleton, 2003), pp.158-163
- ²² Bonson, *Driven by the Dane*, pp.158-163
- ²³ Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32/7 ‘An Inventory of the Utensils belonging to Thomas Swettenham Esq at Swettenham Mill’
- ²⁴ Mow Cop is about seven miles away.
- ²⁵ Bonson, *Driven by the Dane*, pp.158-163
- ²⁶ The mill continued as a working building until 1980s and is now a private residence
- ²⁷ The parish records record them as being rung on occasions such as 5th November, Coronation Day 1701 and 1715, the King’s return from Hannover 1716, and the King’s birthday.
- ²⁸ The absence of the possessive apostrophe in the accounts makes it impossible to say whether one or more slaters were employed.
- ²⁹ The repeated references to timber, carpenters and repairs to the steeple suggest a similar picture to the tower of Marton church recounted in 1854 “... a chaos of huge squared timbers piled into a sort of framework, on no regular principle of structure, but firmly propped and stayed as each piece happened to fit in ... this confused and misshapen skeleton is cased outside with beams and plaster like the body of the church, and so is licked into form ...” The Rev. W.H. Massie writing around 1854 and quoted in *Old Cheshire Churches* by Raymond Richards.
- ³⁰ The parish records state that the decision was made by Roger Manwaring, William Swettenham, Thomas Brooke, Thomas Lockett, Thomas Norbury, Thomas Whittakers, Ralph Barnat and Hugh Worthington, who also agreed that in view of the money spent on the church, there would be no more money raised for the next ten years
- ³¹ Expenditure on slate, lime, glasiers and timber, continued to be recorded beyond the period under consideration.
- ³² J.H. Bettey, *Church & Parish: A Guide for Local Historians*, (London, 1897), p.92
- ³³ ‘Lining Out’ was when the parish clerk read a line, then the congregation sang it, and so on to the end of the psalm. Where many of the parishioners were illiterate it was a way of enabling them to sing. Betty p. 118)
- ³⁴ Cheshire Record Office EDA/6/7/13
- ³⁵ Also that there were no particular or unusual custom of tything, and no remarkable customs of any kind in the parish.
- ³⁶ Bettey, *Church & Parish: A Guide for Local Historians*, p.54
- ³⁷ Tate, *The Parish Chest*, p.19
- ³⁸ Briefs were authorisations issued by the Privy Council to raise money for a deserving cause (Bettey, *Church & Parish: A Guide for Local Historians*, pp.122/123)
- ³⁹ Tate, *The Parish Chest*, pp.120-121
- ⁴⁰ Cheshire Record Office EDA/6/2/43
- ⁴¹ Lawrence Swettenham left interest from £20 for the use of the poor, as did Thomas Swettenham; Philip Bromfield of Midgbrook left £10 and John Shaw, rector left £5. There was also £18 for the poor of Kermincham, It is interesting that no reference is made to the £5 Margery Tomson left in her will of 1663 for the poor of Swettenham or the £3 Jane Webster left in her will of 1706.
- ⁴² Cheshire Record Office EDA/6/7/13
- ⁴³ A debt likely to be recovered
- ⁴⁴ Cheshire Record Office EDA/6/7/13
- ⁴⁵ Groves, *Piggins, Husslements and Desperate Debts*, p.54
- ⁴⁶ Wrightson and Levine, *Poverty & Piety in an English Village 1525-1700*, p.147
- ⁴⁷ Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32/5, DCB/1179/32/6, DCB/1179/32/7, DCB/1179/32
- ⁴⁸ Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32
- ⁴⁹ Cheshire Record Office DCB/1179/32/2, DCB/1179/32/7
- ⁵⁰ There is no evidence to suggest that they lived in different houses
- ⁵¹ Addenbrooke owed £2 to William Sharman according to Sharman’s inventory of 1660
- ⁵² Davies Davenport, of the Davenport family of Capesthorpe.

Plates 13 & 14. Swettenham Green House (now The Swettenham Arms), (map 19/36) some time in the 1930s or later, and today. The original building was late seventeenth century with alterations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. (County Historic Environment Record 11390/1). The black and white photograph shows the layout of buildings, including the building on the left, as depicted on Hale's map. The hedge on the right may possibly belong to the enclosure shown on Hale's map as this feature was still shown on the tithe map of 1839 and the 1875 and 1909 1:2500 Ordnance Survey maps.

Several indentures between Thomas Swettenham and his tenants contain a condition that no brandy, ale, perry, cider or other strong liquor should be sold on the tenants' premises. This may have been a reflection of Thomas Swettenham not wishing to see his tenants the worse for drink, or perhaps more likely, a way of ensuring that they would do their drinking at the ale house he owned.

William Davies, who leased the property in 1702 was required to ensure that at the end of the lease 'all glass windows, doors, locks and keys are in good condition and all the Boards that now lye upon the floor over the stable and cowhouse and likewise the brick stillage and woody stillage in the sellar'

Plate 15. The Swan Ale House (now called The Black Swan). Its seemingly isolated location, on the edge of Swettenham Heath with only a few houses nearby (map 69/45), is a reminder that Swettenham parish did not exist in isolation, and that beyond the parish boundary drawn by Thomas Hale, lay another parish with its own farms and cottages, whose inhabitants would have come to the Swan and drunk with their friends and relations from Swettenham



Plate 16. The church (map 21/36) from the west. The wall on the north (left) side of the churchyard follows the same line shown on Hale's map and the track to the left of the wall runs as it did then between the church and Barn Croft. The churchyard on the south side has been extended since Hale mapped it. The aisle on the south side is a Victorian addition.



Plate 17. The church from the east. Swettenham Green House, now the Swettenham Arms, can be seen in the background. The bowling green shown on Hale's map stood between the church and house. The tree over the chancel is a yew.



Plate 18. Marton church, which dates from the fourteenth century. The many references in the Swettenham churchwardens' accounts to lime and timber for the church and steeple suggest Swettenham church may have been of similar appearance before it was rebuilt in brick.



Plate 19. The east wall of the chancel with a timber-framed open truss with a crown post, a style of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.



Plate 20. The timber framing supporting the tower of Marton church. 'A chaos of huge squared timbers piled into a sort of framework, on no regular principle of structure, but firmly propped and stayed as each piece happened to fit in.' (Rev W.H. Massie in 1854, quoted by Raymond Richards in Old Cheshire Churches). The construction of Swettenham church tower may have been similar before its rebuilding in brick in 1721.



Plate 21. The Rectory from the south. (map 20/39).



CHAPTER SIX - CONCLUSIONS

179. In attempting to produce an all-encompassing picture of the township over a period of one hundred years covering the landscape, agriculture, buildings and people, it is inevitable, given the restrictions of space, that none of these areas could be considered in any great depth. There is for example scope for more detailed consideration of the inventories for the parish, the complexities of borrowing and lending and what this said about relationships within the community, and the buildings, their layout and design. The decision to concentrate on Swettenham meant that the township was considered in isolation, not only from the other half of the parish, but the wider rural community. These issues are all subjects which merit research in their own right.

180. Gaps in some of the primary sources meant that it was not possible to form as full a picture as would have been hoped. The omissions in the parish register meant that no real picture of the social structure of the community could be drawn. Whilst a number of wills and inventories are available for the period, these are only the ones that have survived. Others have not, so there is no way of knowing whether the information in the extant inventories is typical. Thomas Hale's map, whilst containing much useful information leaves some questions frustratingly unanswered, in particular, the names of the tenants who farmed the tenements he depicted, and the meaning of some of the features he drew. If this information had been available, it would have added significantly to the interpretation of land use and the matching of inventories to farms.

181. Details of individuals and the social fabric of the community have been more difficult to determine. Apart from the wills and inventories, and names recorded in the parish register and churchwardens' accounts, there are few details of individuals. The existence next to the church of the bowling green and next to that, Swettenham Green House, hint at aspects of life which the legal and parish records do not record. We know who the churchwardens were, but we do not know how well they fulfilled their duties, and what their standing was within the community, nor is there any evidence to indicate the influence that the Swettenham and Manwaring families had in the parish. The never-ending work to repair the church – was this an indication of religious devotion, community spirit, or an imposition on the many by a few?

182. As it is, we are left with a depiction of the township in 1762 which quite possibly shows the landscape of a hundred years earlier. One thing which had changed though was Swettenham Heath – the references to intakes on Swettenham Heath (and Kermincham Heath) indicate that at the start of the period under consideration, the heath land was more extensive than it was when Hale drew his map. The landscape in 1762 is evidence of the description of Cheshire generally as an area of ancient enclosure carried out piecemeal from forest and waste.¹

183. The community was dispersed around the township, though conclusions about the population itself are difficult, not only because of the problems around the accuracy and comprehensiveness of the parish records, but also because it has been impossible to quantify the movement of people into and out of the township which was happening on a regular basis throughout the period.

184. Swettenham was a township where the farming would seem to match that described by Hodson – sufficient was grown for local consumption, with seemingly no great involvement in one of the farming activities for which Cheshire was famous – the production and sale of cheese. This was ‘up and down’ husbandry, where fields were used for spells of arable farming and then pasture for several years as a way of restoring fertility.² Moreover, herds and flock sizes seem to have been smaller than those in other areas of Cheshire and elsewhere, suggesting a community which was not amongst the wealthiest in the county.

185. It was a relatively self-contained community in terms of its agricultural economy, The population was fluid, with movement into and out of the parish throughout the period but there was no great contact with the wider geographical area beyond a few miles over the parish boundary. Social and domestic habits were slow to change. It was no doubt a township like many others.

¹ C. Stella Davies, *The Agricultural History of Cheshire 1750-1850*, (Manchester, 1960)

² J.H. Hodson, *Cheshire 1660-1780: Restoration to Industrial Revolution*, (Chester, 1978)

SWETTENHAM – EARLY HISTORY

1. At the time of Domesday, eastern Cheshire was comparatively undeveloped - a landscape of “predominantly dispersed settlement pattern with comparatively isolated farms and hamlets separated by fields, pasture, woodland and ... intercommoned waste”.¹ Where there was little nucleation, there were few open fields² and by 1540 most open fields had shrunk or disappeared.³

2. Kermincham is mentioned in the Domesday Book. ‘Godric held it. Half a hide paying tax, land for two ploughs. It was and is waste. The value was 5s.’⁴ The first reference to Swettenham is 1220.⁵ A Saxon cross, possibly from the 10th century, was said to have been found during building work at the church in 1846.⁶ This can now be seen set into a wall inside the Church. A Norman chapel is thought to have occupied the site followed by a late thirteenth century plaster and timber-framed church.⁷

3. Hale’s map shows that in 1762 the churchyard was round (Figure 1). There is speculation that round churchyards were associated with pre-Christian burial sites,⁸ or at least the pre-Saxon British church.⁹



Figure 1. Detail from Thomas Hale's map of 1762 showing the round churchyard (map ref 21/36)

4. The fact that the church, possibly dating from Saxon times, stands in Swettenham, yet only Kermincham is mentioned in Domesday, suggests that the original manor of Kermincham might have been divided into the townships of Kermincham and Swettenham in or by the thirteenth century. By that time, Ormerod records that William de Swetenham held the manor of Kernygham. In the fifteenth century, Kermincham passed to the Maynwaring family and Ormerod cites the family's pedigree from then.¹⁰

5. There were two halls in the parish – Swettenham Hall and Kermincham Hall. Swettenham Hall, a seventeenth century building, still stands, though the exterior appearance was altered in the early nineteenth century. Kermincham Hall was demolished around 1860, having been built in 1718.¹¹ The site of Kermincham Hall represents the remains of a possible shrunken or shifted medieval village.¹²

6. Ormerod records the pedigree of the Swettenham family of Swettenham from the thirteenth century, although the township was not constantly in the family's possession from that time. It was held by the Davenport family in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries¹³ until Thomas Swettenham bought it back for £1,500 in 1671.¹⁴ The Swettenham family also held land in the neighbouring parish of Somerford from the thirteenth century.¹⁵

7. During the Civil Wars, Swettenham lay in that part of the county which was predominantly parliamentary and remained under parliamentary control throughout the conflict. Middlewich, just over six miles away was the scene of a number of engagements. In 1643 there was a massacre of villagers at Barthomley ten miles away and an attack in 1644 on Adlington Hall, eleven miles away.¹⁶ So even if Swettenham was not directly involved in any fighting, it is possible it would have been subject to scavenging troops from either side at some time.

¹ N Higham, *The North West in the Middle Ages*, (Bollington, 2004), p.55

² Higham, *A Frontier Landscape*, p.63

³ Higham, *A Frontier Landscape*, p.94

⁴ P. Morgan (Ed), *Domesday Book – Cheshire*, (Chichester 1978)

⁵ J. McN Dodgson, *The Place-Names of Cheshire, Volume XLV Part Two: The Place Names of Bucklow and Northwich Hundred* (Cambridge, 1970), pp.281-283

⁶ G Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester* p.75, and K.J. Matthews, Desk-Based Archaeological Assessment of Swettenham Hall Golf Course, (Chester, 1992) p.11

⁷ R. Richards, *Old Cheshire Churches*, (Manchester, 1973) p.314

⁸ S Friar, *The Sutton Companion to Churches*, (Stroud, 2003) p.121

⁹ R. Muir, *Landscape Encyclopaedia*, (Bollington, 2004), p.33

¹⁰ Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, pp.77-78

¹¹ P. de Figueiredo, & J Treuherz, *Cheshire Country Houses* (Chichester, 1988) p.275 and Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, p.79)

¹² Cheshire County Historical Environment Record 1187

¹³ J.P. Earwaker, *East Cheshire: Past and Present, or A History of the Hundred of Macclesfield*, (London, 1877), pp.382-384

¹⁴ Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, p.73

¹⁵ Earwaker, *East Cheshire: Past and Present*, p.644

¹⁶ P Gaunt, *The Cromwellian Gazetteer*, (Stroud, 1992), pp.23-26

SWETTENHAM AND KERMINCHAM WILLS AND INVENTORIES CONSULTED

W = Will I = Inventory

Swettenham

Edward Sherman	1662	Yeoman	W&I
Jeffrey Locktee	1662	Yeoman	W&I
Margery Thompson	1663	Widow	I
Anne Sherman	1666	Widow	W&I
Ellenor Kennerley	1672	Widow	W&I
Hugh Vawdrey	1672	Husbandman	I
Edward Thompson	1673	Yeoman	W&I
Elizabeth Hulme	1673	Spinster	W&I
Mary Broadhurst	1673	Spinster	W&I
Thomas Addenbrook	1677	Rector	W&I
Alice Lee	1681	Widow	W&I
Roger Street	1681	Yeoman	I
Thomas Dale	1682	Millwright	W&I
William Swettenham	1684	Gentleman	W&I
William Leigh	1685	Labourer	W
Edward Lownds	1687	Husbandman	W&I
Ann Lockett	1688	Widow	W&I
Mary Gravener	1689	Spinster	W&I
Randle Kenerley	1690	Blacksmith	W&I
Hannah Bateman	1698	Widow	W
Jeffrey Lockett	1700	Yeoman	I
James Loundes	1701	Yeoman	W&I
Jane Webster	1711	Widow	W&I
Mr Swettenham	1713		I
John Shaw	1715	Clerk	W&I
William Brownsword	1720	Yeoman	I
Walter Button	1721	Aleseller	I
Joseph Wilkinson	1723		I
William Snelson	1726	Weaver	W&I
Randle Vaudrey	1728	Yeoman	W&I
William Arrowsmith	1729	Husbandman	W
Thomas Whittakers	1738	Yeoman	W&I
Jeffrey Lockett	1739	Yeoman	W&I
Joseph Taylor	1739	Tailor	W&I
Mary Nixon	1741	Widow	W
John Bostock	1749	Yeoman	W
Jeffrey Lockett	1757	Yeoman	W
Martha Whittaker	1759	Widow	W

Kermincham

Emma Lownes	1660	Spinster	W
William Sharman	1661	Yeoman	W&I
Philip Prestbury	1663	Yeoman	W&I
Richard Dudley	1683	Yeoman	W&I
John Street	1690	Yeoman	W
John Fisher	1690	Husbandman	W
William Thorley	1691	Weaver	W&I
John Fisher	1700		I
John Fisher	1700	Yeoman	W
Jonathan Yearwood	1709		I
Thomas Dudley	1714		W&I
Ursula Dudley	1721		W&I
Hugh Worthington	1724	Husbandman	W
Peter Lounds	1727		I
Mary Davies	1729	Widow	I
Elizabeth Lounds	1729	Spinster	W
Robert Whitney	1732		I
Samuel Moss	1739		W&I
Parnill Crowder	1737		W
Jonathan Richardson	1750	Yeoman	W
James Cherry	1751		I
Roger Manwaring	1753		W
Peter Wilkinson	1770	Gentleman	

CONTINUITY OF FAMILY NAMES

Family names which occur in the parish records throughout the period - first and last references:

Arrowsmith 1663 and 1729

Barber 1683 and 1767

Bayley 1657 and 1770

Burgess 1663 and 1760

Dale 1675 and 1770

Davenport 1657 and 1770

Fisher 1671 and 1770

Foden 1662 and 1745

Gallimore 1699 and 1769

Kennerley 1657 and 1769

Lockett 1660 and 1769

Manwaring 1664 and 1752

Oakes 1663 and 1765

Snelson 1659 and 1768

Stubbs 1665 and 1769

Swettenham 1658 and 1768

Vawdrey 1657 and 1767

Vernon 1663 and 1741

Wood 1660 and 1770

Yarwood 1657 and 1765

**DETAILS OF ENTRIES IN THE PARISH REGISTER
RELATING TO ILLEGITIMACY**

Date of baptism (or burial)	Child's name	Parent(s)	Remark in parish register	From
9th June 1663	Mary	Thomas (?) and Elizabeth Lyngham	Illegitimate	Twemlow & Sandbach
11th March 1664	Sarah	Jane Lowe	Mother a spinster	
28th September 1664	Richard	Margaret Standon	Illegitimate	
10th March 1665 (buried)	Sarah	Sarah (?)	Illegitimate	
13th February 1667	Mary	William Yarwod and Ellin Yarwood (spinster)	Illegitimate	
14th June 1669	Margaret	Richard (?) and Anne (?)	Illegitimate	
15th August 1672	Martha	Anne (?)	by Lawrence Streete the reputed father	
25th November 1672	Hannah	Hannah (?)	Bastard child	
22nd February 1673	Martha	Mary Bayley	by (?) Wardley	
1st January 1676 (Buried 8th February 1676)	Nathan	Anne Ledward.	Tymothy Mosson the reputed father	
25th October 1678	Hannah	Anne Davis	Bastard child	
16th December 1701	Ellen	Ellen Street	Bastard child	Swettenham
20th February 1702 (Burial)	Ellen	Ellen Burgess and William Burgess		
1st April 1718	Martha	Hannah Gibson and Thomas Vaudrey	Bastard daughter	
3rd April 1737	Thomas	Joan Plead	Bastard child	Swettenham
22nd January 1740	John	Ellen Richardson	Bastard child	
13th April 1746	Hannah	Hannah Vawdrey	Bastard child	
22nd July 1750	John	Ann Lownds	Bastard child	Kermincham
22nd July 1750	Hannah	Mary Bradley	Bastard child	Kermincham
7th December 1755	Betty	Sarah Burgess	Bastard daughter	Withington
19th February 1758	William	Jane Oakes	Illegitimate son	Withington
19th March 1759 (Buried 18th May 1759)	Sarah	Martha Davy	Illegitimate daughter	Kermincham
20th May 1759	Joseph	Sarah Davy	Illegitimate son	Kermincham
15th August 1760	Thomas	Hannah Shepley	Illegitimate son	Swettenham
5th March 1761	Betty	Ann Dale	Illegitimate daughter	Kermincham
23rd May 1762	Mary	Ann Bostock	Illegitimate daughter	Swettenham
31st July 1763	Ann	Ann Davy	Illegitimate son	
15th June 1764	William	Sarah Brundrith	Illegitimate son	
4th October 1764	Fanny	Ann Dale	Illegitimate daughter	Kermincham
24th February 1765	Joshua Stannier	Hannah Hill	Illegitimate son	Swettenham
9th March 1766	Martha	Hannah Vaudrey	Illegitimate daughter	Swettenham
9th March 1766	Elizabeth	Mary Crowder	Illegitimate daughter	Swettenham
6th April 1766	Thomas	Helen Barber	Illegitimate son	Withington
5th January 1769	Elizabeth	Elizabeth Steele	Illegitimate daughter	Kermincham
4th February 1770	Thomas	Mary Davenport	Illegitimate son	Withington
22nd July 1770	Richard	Ann Mostyn	Illegitimate son	Kermincham
19th August 1770	Mary	Elizabeth Booth	Illegitimate daughter	

**EVIDENCE OF BIRTH CONTROL (OR LACK OF IT) BASED ON SIZE OF
FAMILIES AND INTERVALS BETWEEN SUCCESSIVE BIRTHS
- DETAILS FROM THE PARISH REGISTER**

No birth control?

Dean and Sarah Barber - nine children: 1745, 1746, 1750, 1751, 1753, 1754, 1756, 1758, 1760 (of whom seven were girls).

Edward and Alice Bayley - seven children: 1672, 1675, 1677, 1679, 1681, 1683, 1687.

Samuel Casey married Hannah Dale in December 1751. First child in January 1752, thereafter in 1753, 1755, 1759, 1762, 1765 and 1767

William and Mary Davies - six children: 1726, 1728, 1731, 1737, 1739

Hugh and Sarah Kinsey - six children: 1744, 1745, 1748, 1749, 1751, 1754

Joseph Holland married Hannah Thorley in December 1732; first child in October 1733, then 1735 and 1738

John and Margaret Kennerley - four children: 1669, 1671, 1674, 1677

Jeffrey and Martha Lockett - five children: 1734, 1736, 1738, 1742, 1743

Roger and Elizabeth Manwaring - seven children: 1691, 1692, 1694, 1696, 1698, 1699, 1701.

Roger was born in 1673, so had his first child aged eighteen and his last aged twenty-eight.

John and Hanna Moss - seven children: 1738, 1740, 1741, 1743, 1745, 1747, 1750.

Thomas Mostyn and Eleanor Slater married January 1746. First child November 1746, thereafter 1748, 1750, 1752, 1754, 1756, 1758, 1763, 1766.

Richard and Ellen Oakes - four children: 1663, 1665, 1667, 1669. They might have had more children if Ellen had not died in 1671. Richard died in 1673, leaving children aged ten, eight, six and four.

Nathanial and Ann Pass - six children: 1725, 1728, 1731, 1734, 1737, 1740

Randolph and Martha Richardson - six children: 1667, 1668, 1670, 1672, 1674, 1681. Randolph died in 1685 and Martha in 1687.

John Snelson married Mary Fisher in February 1690. Five children - the first child nine months after the marriage, then 1692, 1693, 1694, 1696.

Samuel and Ann Strongintharme - nine children: 1660, 1663, 1666, 1669, 1670, ?, 1674, 1677, 1679.

Thomas and Margaret Swettenham - seven children: 1668, 1670, 1672, 1674, 1677, 1680 and ?

Johnathan and Lydia Yarwood - six children: 1697, 1699, 1701, 1703, 1707.

Birth control?

William and Anne Foden - two children: 1673, 1675.

Edward and Hannah Bayley married in April 1729. First child in April 1730, then in 1731, 1737 and 1741.

William and Sarah Smethley married in May 1704. First child within fourteen months of getting married, but their second seven years later.

William and Ann Taylor married in June 1749 but did not have the first of their two children until April 1752.

Robert and Mary Whitney - seven children: 1694, 1697, 1701, 1707, 1709 and 1716.

CHEESE PRODUCERS FROM AMONGST THOSE WHO KEPT CATTLE

Name & date of inventory	Number of cows	Butter & cheese listed	Equipment	Quantity and value
Jeffrey Lockett 1661	7			
Edward Sharman 1662	4	Yes	Cheese press 5s	Butter & cheese 8s
Ann Sharman 1666			Cheese press 4s	-
Hugh Vawdrey 1672	1			
Edward Thompson 1673	*			
Thomas Addenbroke (rector) 1677				
Roger Streete 1681	7			
Edward Lownds 1686	7			
Anne Lockett 1688	7	Yes	Cheese press 2s 6d	Cheese & bacon £1 13s
Jeffrey Lockett 1699	9	Yes	Cheese press 5s	-
James Lownds 1701	8	Yes	Two cheese vats, cheese press 11s 2d	-
William Snelson 1711	1			
John Shaw (rector) 1715	4			
Mr Swettenham 1713	4	Yes	Cheese press 10s, Cheese tub 6s	42 old cheeses £17 100 lbs of butter £1 15s 6 cwt of cheese £5 2s
William Brownsword 1716	11	Yes	Cheese tub (value not clear) Five cheese vats 5s Three cheese boards	Cheese £8
Joseph Wilkinson 1723	6	Yes	Cheese press 3s Cheese vats and platters 1s	Cheese £1
Randle Vawdrey 1728	8	Yes	Cheese press and grinding stones £1	Cheese and bacon £1 12s
Thomas Whittakers 1737	13	Yes	Cheese press 6s Two cheese tubs 10s Two pales, two milk cans, churn 6s 4d Butter bason 1s Butter weights 1s	-
Jeffrey Lockett 1738			Cheese press, furnace pan, boiler £2 2s 6d Cheese tub and barrel 6s Four cheese vats 7s 6d	-

CEREAL CROPS GROWN

	Wheat (corn)	Barley	Oats	Rye	Buttye corn	Pease	Malt	Hay
Jeffrey Lockett 1661	Yes							Yes
Edward Sharman 1662	Yes	Yes	Yes			Yes		Yes
Eleanor Kennerley 1671	Yes							Yes
Edward Tompson* 1673	Yes						Yes	
Thomas Addenbroke 1677		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes			Yes
Roger Streete 1681	Yes							Yes
Edward Lownds 1686	Yes							Yes
Anne Lockett 1688	Yes						Yes	
Randle Kennerley 1689	Yes							Yes
Jeffrey Lockett 1699	Yes							Yes
James Lownds 1701	Yes		Yes	Yes				Yes
Mr Swettenham 1715	Yes	Yes	Yes				Yes	Yes
William Brownsword 1716		Yes						Yes
Joseph Wilkinson 1723	Yes	Yes	Yes					Yes
Randle Vawdrey 1728	Yes							Yes
Thomas Whittakers 1737		Yes						

* Edward Tompson's inventory is damaged and it is possible other crops were listed

BUILDINGS IN THE TOWNSHIP

Settlement Map reference page 13	Building(s)	Description (based on the drawings on Thomas Hale's map)
1	The rectory.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The rectory, an L-shaped building with the lower half of the L comprising a building with a central door and a window either side, a chimney at the angle of the L, and a longer, possibly lower building forming the upper part of the L. The glebe terrier of 1697 describes the house as having 13 bays, with a garden to the south of the house and a Yard or Orchard lying on the east side. - A very long building running from the lane for half the length of the property. It is shown end-on, so no detail concerning doors or windows is shown. There is no chimney. - A third building, separate to the other two, standing against the yard or orchard.
2	The church.	This, and Swettenham Hall, are the two buildings Hale has drawn in plan.
3	These buildings stand on what is marked on the map as Swettenham Greene and next to the bowling green. It seems reasonable therefore to assume that one of them is Swettenham Green House comprising a house place, parlour, little parlour, cellar, brew house, and long room, together with a stable, and cow house.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A house with a chimney at one end, and at the other, a smaller extension. No details of doors or windows can be seen because the house is drawn end-on. - At right angles to this is another building, seen side on, with a door and chimney at one end, and then two windows.
4	The buildings around the mill. It is not clear from the map whether they are all part of the same group.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The mill - Drying kiln - A small dwelling with one chimney, standing at one end of an enclosure marked 'garden.'
5	Swettenham Hall.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The hall. - a substantial block of buildings, bigger than the hall itself, marked on the map 'Stables. Just beyond this, a

Settlement Map reference page 13	Building(s)	Description (based on the drawings on Thomas Hale's map)
		small, outbuilding standing alone. - To the north west of the house, another building drawn in plan.
6	The Swan Ale House.	A single dwelling standing where the road enters the Heath on the north east corner. It appears to be of two storeys, with a chimney at one end.
A	Group of buildings against the side of the lane. Set round a yard with an entry through a gate. There is a small enclosure of trees next to the yard, probably an orchard, and next to this a 'w' possibly indicating a well.	- a dwelling house with a door at one end of the house, two windows along the rest of that side and a chimney at each end of the building, - two outbuildings, one of a similar size to the house with a central door and a window either side. This central door, and the fact that the field next to the building is called Barn Field, suggest this is the barn. The other building is slightly smaller, possibly with just a door. - two small buildings, one in the yard, the other across the lane.
B	Immediately next to the rectory. This group stands at the corner where the lane divides to go to Groups A and B, and to the church. All the buildings stand round a large yard named Barn Fold.	- The house is possibly an L-shaped building with three chimneys. - Around the yard there are three small buildings and two larger ones, all apparently single-storey, none with chimneys.
C	These stand against the lane around a yard, which is separated from the lane by a fence. There is also a hemp yard.	- A house with two chimneys and possibly a centre gable and an extension at the west end. - A tall, narrow building with two doors - A low, long building with a wide central door. This building leads in to Barn Field.
D	Next door to Group C, and separated by an orchard. These buildings stand against the lane and around a yard.	- An L-shaped dwelling house with a central doorway and a window at either end. The chimney is at the angle of the L. - A building with a central door and a window either side. - A small building in the corner of the yard up against the hedge and field.
E	These buildings stand against the lane and around a yard. There is a large orchard to one side of the house.	- A dwelling house, either L –shaped, with a central chimney in the middle of the lower half of the L, or a U or H shaped house, with the chimney in the middle. - A large outbuilding with a door at either end of one side and two windows between the doors.
F	This group stands on the edge of	- A dwelling house with, along the long side of the house, a door at one end and chimney at the other.

Settlement Map reference page 13	Building(s)	Description (based on the drawings on Thomas Hale's map)
	Swettenham Heath around a yard described on the map as 'fold.' The side of the yard against the Heath is of fencing; the other three sides are hedged. There is a tree in the yard.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A building in the corner with two doors at one end and possibly two windows, one above the other, to indicate two storeys. - A longer building down part of one side of the yard. It is drawn end on so no details can be seen. - Two small buildings in the yard.
G	This group stands off the east side of the Heath around a yard. There is a garden and an orchard.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A dwelling house with central door and chimney at one end. - Two outbuildings - A smaller outbuilding by the corner of the garden.
H	Clonterbrook. This group stands at the south east corner of the Heath just off the road to Midge Brook.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A dwelling house with two chimneys and a door at one end of the long side of the house. - A long outbuilding drawn end on so no details can be seen.
I	This groups stands at some distance from the road at the end of a track.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A dwelling house with a central doorway, a window either side and a central chimney. - A low outbuilding with, down the long side, a door at one end and two windows.
J	A group standing round a yard at some distance from the road at the end of a track. Behind the house there is a large orchard, and field called "Well Field."	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A small dwelling house with, along the long side of the house, a door at one end and a single window. - Three small outbuildings.
K	Just outside the parish boundary on the road to Marton. It is marked on the map as 'Gallymore's.'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A single dwelling. It has two chimneys, and a door at one end of the long side of the house. There are three windows shown along the long side of the house, and one at the gable end, all immediately below the roof line, suggesting a two storey building. Facing the house is a hemp yard.
a	Close to Group A. It is set against the lane but there is an open space between the house and the lane, rather than a yard. It is at the head of a field called Pear Tree Croft and there is a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A dwelling house with one door and one window on the long side of the house and one chimney at the opposite end to the door. - A small outbuilding with just a door shown.

Settlement Map reference page 13	Building(s)	Description (based on the drawings on Thomas Hale's map)
	hemp yard on the opposite side of the lane.	
b		A single dwelling with a small building on the opposite side of the lane.
c	These stand up against the side of the lane by the ford through Swettenham Brook. There is a garden marked behind the house.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A dwelling house with a central door and chimney, and one window either side of the door. - A small outbuilding
d		A single small building, details are hard to make out on the map. It is possibly a small cottage with chimney.
e		A single dwelling in a small enclosure on the northern edge of the Heath. The enclosure is not named. There is a chimney in the middle of the dwelling.
f		A single dwelling, shown on the map as just outside the parish boundary. Next to it is written 'W ^m Davis's.' The drawing is too indistinct for any detail to be made out.
g		A single dwelling in a small enclosure on the northern edge of the Heath. The enclosure is not named. The dwelling has a central door with a window on either side and a chimney in the middle.
h		A single dwelling in a small enclosure called Barn Croft on the northern edge of the Heath. It is a narrow cottage, smaller than dwellings e and g with a chimney in the middle.
i		A single dwelling in a small enclosure on the north east edge of the Heath. It has a central doorway, with a window either side and chimney at one end. The next enclosure has a 'w' drawn in.
j	This group stands on the lane from Marton which leads into the Heath on the east side. The first two buildings stand in 'Snelsons Croft' and the third at the edge of 'Intack.' Next to Snelsons Croft is New Intack. All three enclosures are marked by Hale with	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A dwelling house with a door at one end of the long side of the house, a window at the other and a chimney in the middle. - Next to it an outbuilding with a central doorway and one window at the narrow end of the building. - On the other side of the lane, another outbuilding slightly longer, but not as high, as the first.

Settlement Map reference page 13	Building(s)	Description (based on the drawings on Thomas Hale's map)
	the same identifying letter X.	
l		This is a single small dwelling, drawn with two windows in the long side of the house and a central chimney. It stands at one end of a long, thin, enclosure running alongside the road suggestive of an encroachment from the road. With William Davis's house (f) and Gallymore's (K), it is the only one to have a name associated with it, in this case, F, or P Norbury. It is likely to be F Norbury, as there are no P Norbury's recorded in the parish register, but a Francis Norbury was buried on 16th September, 1762, the year on Hale's map.
m	This group stands around a small yard by the road to Congleton. The yard is separated from the road by a fence. Next to the yard is a field called Kiln Croft.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A small dwelling house - Two outbuildings
n		A single building by the side of the road to Congleton. The drawing is faded and it is impossible to make out any detail. The building stands just back from the road and behind it is a small enclosure or yard leading in to a larger field. Between this building, and the buildings in Group m, there is a field called 'Smithy Croft' on the same side of the road, and on the other side, a field called 'Grinding Stone Field.'

**DESCRIPTIONS AND NUMBERS OF ROOMS IN HOUSES
BASED ON ROOMS LISTED IN INVENTORIES**

Name & year of inventory	Rooms	Description of rooms	Total value of inventory
Jeffrey Lockett (Yeoman) Swettenham 1661	3	Chamber, Lower Parlour, House	£108 16s 8d
Edward Tompson Swettenham 1673	7	Parlour, Entry, Little Parlour, High Chamber, Chamber over the Little Parlour, High Chamber over the Dwelling House, High Chamber over the Great Parlour	(Not clear - damaged inventory)
Thomas Addenbroke (Rector) Swettenham, 1677	8	Dwelling House, Next Parlour, Further Parlour, Chamber over the Great Parlour, Chamber over the Further Parlour, New Chamber, Buttery, Corn Chamber	£109 12s 10d
Roger Streete (Yeoman) Swettenham, 1681	4	Dwelling House, Parlour, Chamber over the Parlour, Buttery.	£40 13s 10d
Anne Lockett (Widow) Swettenham, 1688	7	Higher Parlour, Lower Parlour, Dwelling House, Little Parlour below the Entry, High Chamber over the Higher Parlour, Butteries, Oven House	£394 3s 8d
Randle Kennerley (Blacksmith) Swettenham, 1689	2/3	Lower Rooms, High Chamber	£9 16s
Jeffrey Lockett (Yeoman) Swettenham, 1699	13	West End of Dwelling House, Parlour, Chamber over West End, Chamber over the Parlour, Chamber over East End, Chamber over the Buttery, Cheese Chamber, Servants Chamber, Buttery, Bake House, Bake House Cellar, Old House, East End of the Dwelling House	£87 14s 10d
John Fisher, Kermincham 1700	4	Great Parlour, Chamber over Great Parlour, Lower house, Little Parlour	£49 2s 6d
James Lownds (Yeoman) Swettenham, 1701	6	Great Parlour, Dwelling House, Chamber over the Parlour, Chamber over the Dwelling House, Middle Chamber, Chamber over the Entry	£53 11s 9d
Jonathan Yearwood Kermincham, 1709	10	Great Parlour, Little Parlour, The House, Chamber over Great Parlour, Chamber over Little Parlour, Chamber over The House, The Entry, Over the Entry, Buttery, Chamber over the Buttery	£238 11s 6d
Thomas Dudley (Yeoman) Kermincham, 1714	5	Dwelling House, Lower Parlour, Chamber over the House, Chamber over the Lower Parlour, Cheese Chamber	£179 3s
John Shaw (Rector) Swettenham, 1715	16	Hall, Parlour, Hall Chamber, Store Chamber over Parlour, Old Closet at Stair Head, Garrett over Parlour, Cellar, Buttery, Kitchen, Brewhouse, Study, Widows Closet, Best Chamber, Little Green Chamber, Garrett over the Kitchen, Lodging Room	£432 7s 3d
William Brownsword	9	Dwelling House, Upper Parlour, Lower Parlour, Chamber over the Lower Parlour, Entry, Passage,	£116 3s

Name & year of inventory	Rooms	Description of rooms	Total value of inventory
Swettenham, 1716		Cheese Chamber, Over Buttery, Lower Buttery,	
Walter Button (Aleseller) Swettenham, 1721	10	Parlour Chamber, Parlour, House Place, Stair Head, Garrett, Chamber over the House, Buttery, Buttery Chamber, Kitchen, Cellar,	£36 19s
Joseph Wilkinson Swettenham, 1723	8	Parlour, Further Chamber, Middle Chamber, Nearer Chamber, Dining Room, House Place, Little Closet, Cellar	£80 11s 6d
Robert Whitney Kermincham, 1732	4	The House, Chamber, Parlour next to The House, Parlour below The House	£26 4s 5d
Thomas Whittakers (Yeoman) Swettenham, 1737	5	House Place, Parlour, Chamber over the Parlour, Kitchen, Chamber over the Stable	£143 1s 4d
Jeffrey Lockett (Yeoman) Swettenham, 1738	12	Kitchen, Widow's House, Buttery, Dining Room, Chamber over the Dining Room, Chamber over the Widow's House, Garrett at the Widow's End, Garret at the Better End, Chamber over the House, Chamber over the Parlour, Parlour, House Place	£177 3s
Joseph Taylor (Taylor) Swettenham, 1739	4	House Place, Buttery, House Chamber, Parlour Chamber	£49 7s 8d
Samuel Moss Kermincham, 1739	5	The House, The Parlour, Dining Room, Servant Man's room, Servant Woman's room	£220 0s 8d
James Cherry Kermincham, 1750	6	House Place, Parlour, Kitchen, Parlour Chamber, Chamber over the Salting Buttery, Garrett	£112 11s

Note – these include houses in Swettenham and Kermincham.

Number of rooms	Number of houses with this number of rooms	Value of inventory
1	-	
2	-	
3	2	£108 16s 8d, £9 16s
4	4	£49 2s 6d, £40 13s 10d, £26 4s 5d, £49 7s 8d
5	3	£179 3s, £143 1s 4d, £220 0s 8d
6	2	£53 11s 9d, £112 11s
7	2	(inventory damaged), £394 3s 8d,
8	2	£109 12s 10d, £80 11s 6d
9	1	£116 3s
10	2	£238 11s 6d, £36 19s
11	-	
12	1	£177 3s
13	1	£87 14s 10d
14	-	
15	-	
16	1	£432 7s 3d

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DCB/1179/32/2 – 7: Indentures and other documents

DCB/1179/59 Personal accounts for Thomas Swettenham 1745-47

DCB/1179/65a/1 Thomas Swettenham receipt for rent for Snelson's tenement

DCB/1179/66 Personal account for Thomas Swettenham 1750

DCB/1595/12/11 Indentures

EDA/6/2/43 Declaration of Papists – the return of John Shaw, rector 1706

EDA/6/7/13 Return of J. Hawar, rector to an undated Enquiry from the Archdeaconry of Richmond, around 1722.

P139/1/1 Swettenham Parish Registers 1570-1744

P139/1/2 Swettenham Parish Records 1744-1812

P139/3/1 Swettenham Marriage Register 1754-1812

Maps

D/4025/8 Map of Swettenham by Thomas Hale 1762

D5678/37 Map of Henbury by Thomas Hale 1794

D5678/39 Map of Henbury by Thomas Hale 1794

DBC/1720/22 Map of Checkley Wood in Wymbunbury by Thomas Hale 1766

DCB/1179/3 – Map of Kermincham – undated, possibly late eighteenth/early nineteenth century

DDX/70 Map of allotments in the township of Clive in the parish of Middlewich by Thomas Hale 1779

DDX/88 Map of Newton and Minshull Vernon estate by Thomas Hale 1795

EDT/381/2 Tithe Map Swettenham 1839

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1139/0/1 Swettenham Arms

1139/1/2 Saxon Cross at church

1140/1 Swettenham Mill

1141 Clonterbrook House

1142 Swettenham Hall - Dovecote and Stable

1142/1 Swettenham Hall - Garden and Terrace

1187 Shrunk/shifted medieval village, Kermincham

2736 Hollow Way, Pond and Ridge and Furrow

2737 Ridge and Furrow (possible)

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